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کد پارسی: A59468  
اسلام در آسیای میانه

بررسی آراء گوناگون درباره نقش کم رنگ  
اسلام در آسیای مرکزی پس از فروپاشی شوروی  
سابق است. پس از فروپاشی شوروی در سال ۱۹۹۱  
انتظار می‌رفت که اسلام نقش جدیدی در حیات  
سیاسی و فرهنگی کشورهای آسیای مرکزی داشته  
باشد اما شرایط سیاسی-اجتماعی و تمایلات سکولاریستی  
رهبران این کشورها و نفوذ برخی کشورها مانع از  
ظهور اسلام به عنوان نیروی فعال در شکل‌گیری دولت و  
حیات اجتماعی آن منطقه شد. این مقاله درصدد بیان  
تئوری‌های مختلف در این زمینه است. چهار تئوری  
برای تقویت اسلام هنگام فروپاشی مطرح بوده است  
که نویسنده به بررسی این تئوری‌ها و علل به وقوع  
نیویستن آنها می‌پردازد. مهم‌ترین جنبه مورد نظر در  
تئوری‌ها، نقش سیاسی-اجتماعی اسلام در نظام و  
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Nurten KILIÇ  
(Yüksek Lisans Tezi)

Yüksek lisans tezi olarak hazırlanan bu çalışmanın konusu Asya'da, etkileri Orta Asya'ya da yansıyan ve Asya çapında yapısal değişikliklere işaret eden siyasal gelişmelerdir.

Siyasal ağırlıklı olan bu çalışmanın birinci bölümünde XVI.yüzyılda Orta Asya'nın genel siyasal durumu ele alınmaktadır.Bu bölümde özellikle yeni bir siyasal oluşum ve gelişme olanağı gördüğümüz Özbek Hanlıkları'nın kuruluşuna yer verilmiştir.Maveraünnehir ve Harezm' de Timurlular egemenliğine son verilerek kurulan Özbek Hanlıkları aynı zamanda Orta Asya'da siyasal yapı da değişikliği de ifade etmektedir.

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Esnek güç dengelere dayanan adem-i merkeziyetçi siyasal yapı olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.Bu bölümde ayrıca Orta Asya'nın kuzey doğu steplerine hakim olan göçebe Kazak birliğine kısaca yer verilmiştir.Doğu Türkistan'ın Tarım Havzasında hakim olan Doğu Çağataylılar veya Son Çağataylıların siyasal durumu kısaca gözden geçirilmiştir.

İkinci bölümde Asya'nın çevresinde meydana gelen ve Asya çapında değişime işaret eden aynı ve Orta Asya'yı etkileyebilecek siyasal gelişmelere yer verilmiştir.En önemli siyasal gelişme ise Asya'nın çevresinde güçlü ve merkeziyetçi yapıya sahip yerleşik bölgesel imparatorlukların oluşumudur. İran'da Safavî Devleti, Hindistan'da Hint-Timurlu Devleti ve Rusya'da Moskova-Rus Devleti olarak belirttiğimiz Rus Devleti'dir.Ayrıca bu bölümde, XIV.yüzyıla girerken kurulan ancak XVI.yüzyılda güçlü bir imparatorluk olarak ortaya çıkan Osmanlı Devleti'ne ve onun özellikle Orta Asya'yı ilgilendiren siyasal durumuna yer verilmiştir.Asya'nın en eski aktörü olan Çin'in siyasal durumu kısaca ele alınmıştır.

Son bölümde bu siyasal kuruluşlarla Orta Asya arasındaki siyasal ilişkiler değişimi yansıtmaları açısından gözden geçirilmiş ve değerlendirilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak XVI.yüzyılda önemli değişikliklere işaret eden siyasal gelişmeler meydana gelmiştir. En önemli değişiklik ise Asya'nın çevresinde bazı değişikliklere rağmen günümüze kadar devam edecek olan yeni siyasal aktörlerin meydana gelmesidir.

Danışman: Yrd.Doç.Dr.Yusuf OĞUZÖĞLU

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Orta-Asya  
 Ce volume rassemble pour partie les communications d'un séminaire tenu à l'IFEAC en octobre 1997. L'article de tête est de ceux qui font exception à cette règle, puisqu'il résulte d'une communication remarquée faite en avril 1998 à l'EPHE IV<sup>e</sup> Section (Muminov, Ashirbek, « Fonds nationaux et collections privées de manuscrits en écriture arabe de l'Ouzbékistan », trad. du russe par M. Szuppe, pp. 17-38) ; l'A., sans doute l'un des meilleurs connaisseurs des richesses de l'Asie centrale en sources manuscrites, y offre une présentation panoramique extrêmement intéressante des principales collections de manuscrits d'Ouzbékistan, sans omettre quelques collections privées sorties de l'ombre depuis l'indépendance. L'étude suivante est, elle, consacrée à l'évocation d'une collection publique particulièrement riche et sous-étudiée : celle de la Bibliothèque A. Semenov de l'Institut d'histoire, d'archéologie et d'ethnographie de l'Académie des sciences du Tadjikistan, riche de nombreux manuscrits illustrés et de quelques autographes d'une grande importance pour l'histoire de l'Asie centrale moderne (Dodkhudoeva, Larisa & Lola, « Manuscrits orientaux du Tadjikistan : la collection Semenov », trad. du russe par Aliyé Akimova et Maria Szuppe, pp. 39-55, 5 ill. en coul. sur 2 pl. h.-t.). Suivent deux brèves études par deux spécialistes français de codicologie : Richard, Francis, « Manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale de France se rapportant à l'Asie centrale musulmane », pp. 57-63 (cf. c.r. n° 8) ; Déroche, François, « Note sur les fragments coraniques anciens de Katta Langar (Ouzbékistan) », pp. 65-73, 3 ill. en coul. sur 1 pl. h.-t. Comme la plupart des AA. du présent recueil, F. Richard et F. Déroche insistent sur le caractère encore très embryonnaire de notre connaissance de l'histoire du livre manuscrit, ancien et moderne, en Asie centrale, et des ressources qu'offre cette histoire pour la compréhension plus générale de cette région.

Une seconde partie est consacrée aux lettrés et aux livres, du 15<sup>e</sup> au 17<sup>e</sup> s. À partir de l'identification des sceaux particuliers à la bibliothèque de Muḥammad Pârsâ (1345-1420), deux savants ouzbeks proposent une nouvelle reconstitution, sensiblement plus complète que les précédentes, de cette collection. Sur cette base, les AA. analysent le rôle qu'ont pu jouer les ouvrages d'auteurs hanafites dans le phénomène général de « hanafisation » de la Naqšbandiyya, dont Pârsâ fut l'un des principaux artisans. Cette évolution est replacée par les AA., spécialistes reconnus de l'histoire du *fiqh* en Asie centrale pré-moderne, dans le contexte général de légitimation théorique croissante des pratiques du « clergé rural » en Transoxiane, à partir du début de la période timouride (Muminov, Ashirbek ; Ziyadov, Shavasil, « L'horizon intellectuel d'un érudit du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle : nouvelles découvertes sur la bibliothèque de Muḥammad Pârsâ », trad. du russe par Aliyé Akimova et Maria Szuppe, pp. 77-98, 2 tab.). L'étude suivante, basée sur une analyse des manuscrits persans de *tazkira* littéraire des 16<sup>e</sup> et 17<sup>e</sup> s., tente de définir un profil du lettré (*adīb*) en Transoxiane sous les Shaybanides et les Janides ; bien qu'il faille regretter l'emploi discutable du substantif

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18 AUG 2006

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855. VITKOVSKAJA, Galina éd. *Sovremennye ètnopolitičeskie processy i migracionnaja situacija v Central'noj Azii*. Moscou, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moskovskij centr Karnegi, 1998, 229 p.  
[Phénomènes ethno-politiques contemporains et situation migratoire en Asie Centrale]

Bien que ce recueil d'articles soit centré sur le Qazaqstan, à travers l'émigration de son importante population russophone (c'est la même problématique qui a été retenue pour l'Ouzbékistan et le Qyrghyzstan), signalons quelques articles de portée plus générale ou centrés sur d'autres États. Galina Vitkovskaja (« Èkonomičeskij faktor migracii iz stran Central'noj Azii: fon ili dominantna? » [Le facteur économique dans la migration en provenance des pays d'Asie Centrale : arrière-plan ou trait saillant ?], pp. 20-45, 9 tab.) donne la tonalité générale de l'ouvrage en insistant sur les motivations essentiellement politiques des mouvements d'émigration des États d'Asie Centrale, depuis l'implosion de l'URSS, sur la base d'enquêtes réalisées depuis 1992.

Toutefois c'est sur le Tadjikistan que porte l'étude la plus complète – c'est-à-dire n'ignorant pas les communautés non européennes. Saodat Olimova (« Ètničeskaja i graždanskaja identičnost' i ix vlijanie na migracionnoe povedenie naselenija Tadžikistana » [Identités ethnique et civique, et leur influence respective sur le comportement migratoire de la population du Tadjikistan], pp. 192-204) analyse, à travers de multiples sondages réalisés ces dernières années, le niveau d'adhésion respectif à l'État tadjik des trois grandes communautés du pays, pour souligner la très grande proximité – atypique en Asie Centrale – entre l'ethnie titulaire, celle des Tadjiks, et le second groupe ethnique, celui des Ouzbeks, et pour marquer au contraire les grandes différences de perception des Russes – dont l'A. rappelle la dépendance traditionnelle à l'égard des institutions étatiques aujourd'hui dissoutes de la période soviétique. (Cet article reprend l'argument d'une publication précédente du même A. : « Ètnopolitičeskaja situacija v Tadžikistane i ee vlijanie na migracionnoe povedenie », *Central'naja Azija*, Luleå, Suède, n° 6 (12), (1996), pp. 45-53). Ljudmila Sokolova (« Tadžikistan: demografičeskaja situacija i migracija » [Le Tadjikistan : situation démographique et migration], pp. 205-215) reprend quelques-unes des conclusions d'une étude plus générale : cf. « Demografičeskoe razvitie Respubliki Tadžikistan v perexodnyj period » [L'évolution démographique de la République du Tadjikistan pendant la période de transition], *Central'naja Azija*, n° 2 (14), (1998), pp. 34-44 (c.r.?).

Déplorons d'une manière générale le manque d'attention montré dans ce volume pour les mouvements migratoires à l'intérieur de chacun des États nouvellement indépendants d'Asie Centrale – dont les effets politiques furent et demeurent pour la région aussi importants, si ce n'est davantage, que les émigrations vers les États voisins, la Russie ou l'étranger plus lointain.

S.A.D.

3. ALLWORTH, Edward A. « Central Asia in the 1990s: an Annotated Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets Published in English during the Present Decade by Journalists, Politicians, Scholars, Students, Travelers, and Others ». *Central Asia Monitor*, (1995), n° 5, pp. 15-30.

L'utilité très relative de la présente entreprise, poursuivie régulièrement dans le *Central Asia Monitor* depuis l'automne 1995, s'explique par sa limitation à une simple mention d'un nombre relativement réduit de publications en anglais. Par ailleurs l'A. entretient la confusion dans les publications de niveau extrêmement variable qui se sont multipliées depuis une dizaine d'années sur l'Asie Centrale moderne et contemporaine, en n'introduisant aucune distinction entre les publications académiques – elles-mêmes de qualité très variable – et les articles et ouvrages à caractère journalistique ou éditorialistique.

S.A.D.



620. PEIMANI, Hooman. *Regional Security and the Future of Central Asia : The Competition of Iran, Turkey and Russia*. West Port (CT), Praeger Publications, 1998, xiv-153 p., 1 carte, biblio., index.

Orthasyn  
This study is based on the hypothesis that the world after the end of Cold War is on the way to a multipolar international system within which the Central Asian countries (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan), tied together by « many societal, economic, political, military/security, and geographical factors », form a distinct security complex. For the time being, the weaknesses of these states make them vulnerable to foreign powers that seek to dominate Central Asia, namely three rivals : Russia, Iran, and Turkey. This hypothesis basically turns out to be also the result of the author's investigations and discussions. It is achieved by filling various data and 'informations' plus own reasoning into the categories of Barry Buzan 's concept of « security complex » (id., *People, States, and Fear*, 2nd ed., New York, 1991). Peimani, by the way, in his study obviously prefers matters of Iran to those of Turkey, Russia poses as a kind of necessary evil.

R.E.

27  
S.S. 259  
1999

Ortaasya

606. ANDERSON, John. *International Politics of Central Asia*. Manchester - New York, Manchester University Press, 1997, 225 p. (Regional International Politics Series).

En huit chapitres d'importance égale, l'A. propose un survol de l'histoire contemporaine et une analyse socio-politique des cinq États nouvellement indépendants d'Asie centrale. Les trois premiers chapitres posent les jalons historiques : la conquête russe, la soviétisation et la perestroïka, replaçant dans diverses durées les phénomènes contemporains. Les trois chapitres suivants offrent une analyse des défis auxquels ont été confrontés depuis l'indépendance les dirigeants des pays d'Asie centrale : formation d'un nouvel ordre politique pour remplacer la défunte Union, construction de nouvelles économies sans lesquelles cette indépendance n'aurait guère de sens, fabrication d'une nouvelle idéologie d'État – laquelle, dans chacun des pays considérés, doit renforcer le sentiment national, sans négliger pour autant l'islam. Les deux derniers chapitres sont consacrés au conflit tadjik et aux politiques étrangères respectives des différents régimes apparus en 1991.

L'une des grandes qualités de cet ouvrage tient dans une combinaison entre une vision globale de l'Asie centrale comme entité distincte, et le cas particulier de chaque pays. D'autre part, l'A. s'est attaché à souligner les articulations entre phénomènes religieux, clanismes, régionalismes, ethnicismes – tous intégrés selon différents dosages dans les nouvelles idéologies officielles, et se combinant dans l'émergence des conflits régionaux et locaux. Enfin l'A. nous invite à bien percevoir la diversité structurelle que dissimule l'apparente uniformité des dictatures de la région, comparant la tyrannie de Nijazov au Turkménistan au régime plus éclairé de Karimov en Ouzbékistan (une remarque valable jusqu'au déclenchement des purges de 1999), et soulignant les différences entre les « démocrates » de la région, Nazarbaev et Akaev. Il faut remarquer également la qualité pédagogique de l'apparat critique (bonne bibliographie, notes de bas de pages nombreuses et précises – entre 60 et 90 notes par chapitre, index très utile). Voir aussi le compte rendu par Stephen Blank dans CAS, 18/1 (1999), pp. 131-132.

B.Bal.

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513-132  
2004

610. CURTIS, Glenn E., éd. *Kazakstan. Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Country Studies*. Washington (DC), Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1997, LXI-570 p., ill. en noir, 23 tab. h.-t., biblio., glossaire, index.

Ce gros ouvrage offre une présentation générale pour chacun des cinq États d'Asie Centrale, par un ou plusieurs spécialistes internationalement reconnus (le Qazaqstan et le Qyrghyzstan par Martha Brill Oclott, pp. 1-98 et 99-193 ; le Tadjikistan par Muriel Atkin, pp. 195-290 ; le Turkménistan par Larry Clark ; Michael Thurman et David Tyson, pp. 291-374 ; l'Ouzbékistan par Nancy Lubin, pp. 375-468). Chaque notice se subdivise en un nombre identique de sections : histoire, géographie physique, démographie, société, religion, enseignement, santé, économie, transports, institutions politiques, politique étrangère et défense nationale. Les annexes présentent 23 tableaux de statistiques comparatives entre les différents pays. L'ensemble constitue une introduction assez complète, et d'un maniement aisé, à la politique et à l'économie actuelles des pays de la région.

S.A.D.

Türk  
Ortaasya

619. ÖKE, Mim Kemal, éd. *Orta Asya türk cümhuriyetleri*. İstanbul, Alfa Yayınları, 1998, 312 p.  
[Les Républiques türkes d'Asie centrale]

Cet ouvrage collectif offre sur les États türkophones d'Asie centrale des contributions de qualité très variable. L'article de Gökhan Bacik sur les questions d'identité collective dans les républiques türkophones est sans doute le meilleur de l'ouvrage. L'A. y aborde avec subtilité la recherche actuelle d'un modèle de développement économique et politique, marquée selon Bacik par une hésitation entre le renforcement de l'ethnie dominante et celui de la dimension islamique dans la construction des nouvelles identités nationales. Fahrettin Canbar s'étend ensuite sur les facteurs jouant en faveur d'une démocratisation de ces États, mais il s'attarde inutilement sur le « tribalisme » supposé des sociétés centrasiatiques, pour se contenter finalement d'une synthèse des articles parus sur les mêmes questions dans le *Central Asian Survey* entre 1994 et 1997. Enfin deux articles d'Ahmet Kuru offrent un condensé de ce qui se fait de pire en Turquie aujourd'hui : le premier survole les relations entre la Turquie et l'Asie centrale au cours des neuf derniers siècles ; le second insiste sur la nécessaire intégration politique entre la Turquie et les « républiques » türkophones d'Asie centrale. Coupé des réalités politiques et sociales du terrain turc et centrasiatique, l'A. construit des schémas théoriques peu intelligibles, qui achèvent de nuire à la crédibilité du présent recueil.

B.Bal.

Türk  
Ortaasya

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1999  
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375. YAMAUCHI, Masayuki, ed. and transl. *Surutangariefu no yume to genjitsu. Shiô*. Tokyo, Tôkyô Daigaku Shuppan Kai, 1998, v22-321-16 p., ill., bibliography, index.

[Dreams and Realities of Sultangaliev. Documents]

Ortasyev  
Since the period of Perestroika the rehabilitation of Central Asian Muslim intellectuals and communist leaders, who suffered unfair and fatal repression during the 1920's and 1930's, has started and research based on unpublished documents and restricted publications have contributed to the reevaluation of their activities and thought. Among others the rehabilitation of Mirsaid Sultangaliev (1892-1939), one of the most outstanding Muslim communists, makes it possible for us to understand many aspects of the revolutions of 1917 in Central Asia. This work consists of two parts: an introduction and a Japanese translation of a selection of Sultangaliev's writings. In the introduction the editor, who has already published three books on Sultangaliev, provides a historical perspective of nationality problems in Central Asia, especially in the Middle Volga region. The texts are selected not only from Mirsaid Sultan-Galiev's *Stat'i, Vystupleniya, Dokumenty* (ed. I. R. Tagirov, B. F. Sultanbekov, Kazan, 1992) but also from contemporary periodicals such as *Žizn' natsional'nostei* [The Life of Nationalities]. The Japanese translation by the editor and younger colleagues such as Nonaka Susumu, Obiya Chika and Uyama Tomohiko is reliable and will no doubt encourage Japanese studies in this field.

H.K.

7. BREGEL, Yuri. comp. et éd. *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia, Part I–II–III*. Bloomington (Ind), Indiana University (Research Institute of Inner Asian Studies), 1995, x-xxxv-xxx-2276 p. (Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 160, part. I-II-III).

Orfay  
 Parmi les nombreuses lacunes inévitables dans ce genre de travail rédigé à une seule main, signalons l'absence totale d'intérêt de l'A. pour l'histoire des idées à l'époque moderne et la médiocre couverture des domaines linguistiques autres que le russe et l'anglais (cette remarque est en particulier valable pour les langues d'Asie Centrale). Par ailleurs, si cette somme bibliographique constitue un instrument de travail désormais indispensable pour les étudiants comme pour les chercheurs, elle nous apparaît aussi comme le dernier effort individuel produit en ce domaine et, dans cette mesure, elle marque la fin d'une époque. En effet, le nombre même des publications de toutes sortes consacrées depuis une décennie à l'Asie Centrale moderne et contemporaine dissuadera à l'avenir toute entreprise de ce genre. Le temps semble être venu aux bases de données informatiques accessibles sur Internet (signalons que *Data Iranica* intègre depuis plusieurs années une quantité rapidement croissante de notices sur l'Asie Centrale), et aux bibliographies plus sélectives, mais critiques – compte tenu de la qualité extrêmement inégale des publications qui se multiplient depuis la fin des années 1980.

S.A.D.



209. MANO, Eiji, ed. *Chûô Ajia shi*. Tokyo, Dohosha, 1999, 246 p., maps, tab., ill., phots., chronology, index (Ajia no rekishi to bunka [History and Culture of Asia], 8).

[History of Central Asia]

Ortho 209

This is the latest introduction to the history of Central Asia, and it consists of 3 parts and 13 chapters. The contents is as follows : General introduction (Mano, Eiji) ; Part 1 : Central Asia in the pre-Islamic period ; 1. The Development of Archaeological Studies of Central Asia (Kuwayama, Shôshin) ; 2. Nomadic Society and Culture in Central Asia (Katayama, Akio) ; 3. Society and Culture in Central Asian Oasis regions (Yoshida, Yutaka) ; 4. The Kushanids (Otani, Nakao) ; Part 2 : Central Asia in the Turk-Islamic Period ; 1. The Turkification of Central Asia (Umemura, Hiroshi) ; 2. The Islamization of Central Asia (Mano, Eiji) ; 3. Society and Culture during the Turk Period : a. Turk-Islamic Society and Culture (Mano, Eiji) ; b. Society and Culture during the Uighur Period (Umemura, Hiroshi) ; 4. The Mongol Empire and the Chaghatay Khanate (Kato, Kazuhide) ; 5. The Timurids (Kubo, Kazuyuki) ; 6. The Shaybanids and their Successors (Horikawa, Tôru) ; Part 3 : Modern Central Asia ; 1. Central Asia and the Qing Dynasty (Hamada, Masami) ; 2. Russia and Central Asia (Komatsu, Hisao) ; 3. Contemporary Central Asia : a. Central Asia in China (Hamada, Masami) ; b. Central Asia during the Soviet Period (Komatsu, Hisao). As seen in the table this book aims to provide the outline of Central Asian history as well as major topics in it. The authors are Japanese specialists in each subject and the latest research results are reflected in this book. Although this is a reliable introduction to the history of Central Asia, many misprints have been found that should be corrected in the next print.

H.K.

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2000  
100

215. HILDINGER, Erik. *Warriors of the Steppe. A Military History of Central Asia, 500 B.C. to 1700 A.D.* New York, Sarpedon, 1997, 260 p., carte, chronologie, pl. n. b. h. t., bibliographie, index.

Orthographe  
Il était bien aventureux, en manifestant une aussi totale absence d'intérêt pour les sources primaires (à l'exception du seul Plano Carpini, dont l'A. est un traducteur à ses heures perdues), d'entreprendre une si ambitieuse synthèse. Erik Hildinger se tire de la gageure en nous offrant une réflexion très panoramique sur les divers emprunts tactiques des sociétés sédentaires aux armées nomades issues de Haute Asie, et sur les causes (apparition de l'artillerie...) du déclin final de ces armées de la steppe.

S.A.D.

# SOVYET ORTA ASYASINDA SOYSUZLAŖTIRMA POLİTİKASI

Yazan:  
S. ENDERS WIMBUSH

Çeviri: Dr. Yasin CEYLAN

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Asya - Afrika Araştırmaları Grubu

Yayın No: 34

## SOVYET ORTA ASYASINDA SOYSUZLAŖTIRMA POLİTİKASI

S. ENDER WIMBUSH

Benlik araştırması, genellemelere ve basit açıklamalara kolaylıkla yer veren bir husus değildir. Benlik, karmaşık bir nesnedir. İnsanlar, kendilerini nasıl gördüklerini bize anlatmadıkları müddetçe onları anlamak güçtür. Hatta bazı şartlar altında bazı benlikler açıklansa bile, psikologlar, durumun bundan ibaret olmadığını söylerler. Çünkü insanlar, kendilerinin de anlamadıkları ve kabul etmedikleri şuur altındaki benliklere göre hareket eder ve inançlar edinirler. Bu, doğru olabilir de, olmayabilir de; modern psikolojideki çoğu hususlar gibi bu da bilimsel teste pek tabi değildir. Ancak, nelerin benliği oluşturduğu ve kimde hangisinin ne kadarını bulundurduğu alanındaki tartışmalar, bize benliğe politik bir anlam vermedeki güçlüğü ve bundan da kötüsü, dıştan birbirinin tıpkı aynısı görünen kimseler arasında bile mevcut olan çok farklı benlikleri ve şuur altı benliklerin tümünü kapsayan, onlara yer veren politik esasları planlamanın güçlüklerini gözlerimizin önüne serer.

Bu durum, Orta Asya'da, Sovyetler Birliği'nin kuruluş yıllarında, Lenin ve onu takip eden liderler için bir sorundu. Ancak daha iyi incelendiğinde, sorunun görüldüğü gibi pek karmaşık olmadığı ortaya çıkar. Bunun da yegâne sebebi, Orta Asya halkının Lenin'in de kendi politik sorunu olarak anladığı gibi, kendilerini Müslüman olarak görmeleridir. Lenin'in, Müslümanların kendi benliklerini nasıl tanımadıklarını teşhis edip, buna dayanarak çözülmesi gereken problemi "Müslüman sorunu" olarak tanıtmaya gerçekten mantıklıdır. Yoksa, sorunu tamamiyle değişik bir şey olarak ele alabilirdi.

Politik açıdan, Lenin, —ve ondan sonra gelen Stalin— Orta Asya'da Rus etkinliğini pekiştirmek ve özellikle Komünist Partisi etkisini güçlendirme sorununu "Müslüman sorunu"nun üstesinden gelme olarak görmelerinde haklıydılar. Bu noktada, İslam'ı Orta Asya ve diğer Müslümanlar arasında güçlü politik bir varlık olarak gören önceki çarlardan pek farklı değillerdi. "Müslüman" kelimesi, imparatorluğun resmi belgelerinde kullanılmaktaydı. "Özbek", "Tatar", "Kırgız" kelimeleri, kabile mntıkalarını belirtmek için kullanılırdı; ve hatta, bunda bazen hatalı uygulama ve karışıklık mevcuttu. Meselâ "Tatar" kelimesi, yalnız Volga ve Kırım tatarlarını değil, Kuzey Kafkasya Türklerini (Karaçaylar,

**AKSARAY POLİS OKULU**  
**TÜRKİ CUMHURİYETLERLE TÜRKİYE'NİN SOSYAL EKONOMİK VE**  
**KÜLTÜREL İLİŞKİLERİ KONFERANSI**

12 AGUSTOS 2001

AKSARAY: 07.10.1998

**DR. İDRİS BAL**  
**POLİS AKADEMİSİ ÖĞRETİM ELEMANI**

**TÜRKİ CUMHURİYETLERLE TÜRKİYE'NİN SOSYAL, EKONOMİK VE**  
**KÜLTÜREL İLİŞKİLERİ**

**1. GİRİŞ**

Türki cumhuriyetler terimiyle genellikle Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan, Türkmenistan ve Özbekistan kastedilmektedir. Tajikistan ise hernekadar nüfusunun %25'i Özbek kökenli olup bu insanlar Türki bir dil konuşsa da bu ülke nüfusun çoğunluğu farsça konuştuğundan dolayı Tajikistan genellikle Türki bir ülke olarak kabul edilmemektedir. Fakat, bazı akademisyenler bu ülkeyi de Türki cumhuriyetler şemsiyesi altına sokmaktadırlar. Bu bildirinin amacı Türkiye ile Türki cumhuriyetler arasındaki gelişen ilişkileri özetlemek, Türkiye için bu cumhuriyetlerin önemini vurgulamak ve bu ilişkilere etki eden faktörleri tartışmaktır.

**2. TÜRK DÜNYASI VE TÜRKİ CUMHURİYETLERİN BAĞIMSIZ OLMALARI**

Sovyetler Birliği dağılmadan önce Türk ve Türk dünyası dendiğinde akla sadece Anadolu Türkleri gelmekteydi. Fakat Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasından sonra Kafkaslarda ve Orta Asyada'ki Türk kökünden gelen cumhuriyetlerin bağımsız olmalarıyla Türk veya Türki dendiğinde bunun sadece Türkiye Türklerini ifade etmediğini daha geniş bir alanda aynı kökten gelen insanların yaşadığı herkes için açık hale geldi.

Rus imparatorluğu ve Sovyetler Birliği zamanında birliği oluşturan uluslar değişik araçlar kullanılarak kontrol altında tutulmuştu. Özellikle Sovyetler Birliği döneminde Komünist Partisi marifeti ile tüm topluluklar kontrol altında tutulmuştu. Yetişkin nüfusun yaklaşık %10'u Sovyetler Birliği komünist partisi üyesi durumundaydı ve parti üyelerinin eğitim düzeyi daima, sıradan insanların eğitim düzeyinden daha iyiydi. Komünist parti, TPÖ (Temel Parti Örgütleri - hücre) aracılığı ile tüm önemli birimlere girmiş ve herşeyi kontrol etmişti. Ruslar her zaman politikayı yönlendirmişlerdi. 'Domokratik merkezîyetçilik' ilkesi aracılığı ile kimi insanlar (özellikle Ruslar) partiyi kontrol etmişler ve seçim işlemleri yukarıdan aşağıya doğru yönetilmiştir. İkinci olarak eğitim, medya ve toplumsal olaylar (örneğin sportif olaylar) Komünizmin propoganda aracı olarak kullanılmıştır. Ulusları yok ederek Sovyet yurttaşı oluşturmak için çaba

Ado A. S. Zec  
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**"THE TURKISH MODEL" FOR THE TURKIC REPUBLICS OF THE EX-SOVIET  
UNION**

**BY IDRIS BAL**

**1. Introduction**

The aim of this paper is first to give brief information about the design of Turkish model after the establishment of Turkish republics. Second to underline some weakness of the model, and find out the factors that made Turkish model popular in 1990s just after the collapse of the USSR. In conclusion it will be suggested that although the Turkish model is not perfect, its democracy and secularism, common culture between Turkey and Turkic republics, its success in economic transformation made the Turkish model popular in 1990's.

**2. The Establishment of Turkish Republic and Design of the Turkish Model**

Westernization of Turkey mainly has started since *Tanzimat* (educational and administrative reforms) and Turkey has been following this path since that time<sup>1</sup>. After the first World War, the Ottoman Empire collapsed, and the Turkish Republic was established. The important thing that should be underlined here is that when Ottoman empire collapsed and Turkish republic was founded Mustafa Kemal found intellectuals thinking in the same way with him and there was westernization experiment coming from the empire. The presence of these helped M. Kemal to conduct his reform programme<sup>2</sup>.

After the international status of Turkey was settled, President Mustafa Kemal began his internal reforms. His aim was to turn Turkey into a European state and the Turkish people into a European nation<sup>3</sup>. On November 1922, Sultanate abolished. Two years later in 1924 Caliphate abolished as well. All members of the Osman dynasty were banished. Turkey then become republic and Mustafa Kemal became its first president<sup>4</sup>. The state was established on a strictly secular basis. The new constitution was accepted by the grand National Assembly on April 20, 1924. This constitution declared that "Turkish Republic is a republic" and "Sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation". Although 1924 version of the constitution still stated that "the religion of the Turkish state is Islam" this provision was revoked in 1928. The principle of secularism was inserted in the Turkish Constitution with an amendment made during 1937<sup>5</sup>. The religious courts were abolished, Muslim law abandoned, Religious schools were closed down, entire education system was placed under the supervision of the Ministry of education. Western legislation was introduced in all fields; Drawing on Swiss civil code, German criminal law of procedure, and Italian penal and commercial codes. The wearing of fez was forbidden and European clothing in general was recommended, and

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1. Foreign Policy of Turkey, Directorate General of Press & Information, prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, third printing, Ankara, 1992, p.4.

2. See for more on westernization in Ottoman Empire; Ferenc A. Vali, *Bridge across the Bosphorus*, London: The John Hopkins Press, 1971, p.10; Soylemez, Yuksel (Ambassador). 'Turkey: Western or Moslem?', *Turkish Review*, Autumn 1992, Vol.6, No.29. p.49.

3. Vali, Ferenc A. *Bridge across Bosphorus*, op.cit., p.21.

4. Patrick Kinross, *Ataturk The Rebirth of a Nation*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1993, see, chapters, 42, 46, and 52.

5. TURKEY, Office of the Prime Minister Directorate General of Press and Information, Ankara, February 1993, p.35

# ISLAMIC TRENDS IN 'SOVIET' CENTRAL ASIA

## — Where more Communists are converting to Islam than otherwise

Muslim religious and now political consciousness poses serious ideological challenge for Soviet leadership. But it also offers the Kremlin a fine opportunity to rectify relations with the Muslim world.

Tilab Ruzmetov 'is in a difficult situation now' so much so that the Uzbekistan newspaper, 'Pravda Vostoka' (20 September 1986) has had to write an editorial note urging 'support and concrete help' for this loyal comrade in trouble.

Tilab is a lecturer in atheism in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan. A graduate from the University of Marxism-Leninism, he has published 200 articles expounding atheism. He has given hundreds of lectures against ignorance and religion. His communist credentials were impeccable. Son of an atheist father who had fought in Chonov's division against the Muslim 'Basmachis' and actively struggled for Soviet power, Ruzmetov had now spent more than a quarter of a century fighting 'reaction' and propagating atheism, but if it was time for him to bask in the glory of his intellectual crusade, then this was not to be so. The whole exercise had turned sour and counter-productive.

Instead of being appreciated and credited for what he had done, Ruzmetov is facing serious social stigmatisation by his own people. When he is walking people whisper behind his back: 'Khudosis' — There goes that Godless man. If he happens to slip on the ice, they would say, 'That is his punishment from God'. Once he was opening a small canal gate to irrigate his orchard and accidentally fell into the canal, immediately came a voice from the neighbour's house, 'He earned it, the atheist'. Even a ten-year old school girl would write to him criticising his atheistic articles in the 'Lenin Uchkuni' paper.

'While I continue receiving such letters, it is impossible for me to live quietly', said a distraught and withdrawn Ruzmetov. The recipient of an 'exemplary national education worker' award of the Presidium of the Uzbek

SSR Supreme Soviet, Ruzmetov finds it difficult to continue with his lecturing. Life has become quite uncomfortable in his own village.

Religious sentiments were clearly on the rise in Uzbekistan. Young communists took part in 'nikokh' (nikah — religious wedding) and in religious funeral (janaza). Believers have erected religious buildings under the guidance of a self-proclaimed mullah. But what demoralised Ruzmetov is that instead of trying to curb the rise of open practice of Islam, even Party officials showed indifference to atheistic work. Ruzmetov had collected and prepared a good material on atheistic education to be used by teachers of history, physics and literature, but the director of his school snubbed him.

Tilab Ruzmetov's singular unpopularity in his own environment is not untypical of the social climate in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. There have been cases of overzealous career atheists being beaten up for making insulting remarks against Islam and of pupils disciplining their teacher when he happened to smoke in class during Ramadan. There is growing evidence otherwise that in spite of more than half a century of state indoctrination and social and economic engineering, backed by sustained and militant suppression of religion, particularly Islam, not only has atheism failed to throw any roots, people have begun to openly reject it. There is greater assertion of religiosity by all people under Soviet rule — Jews, Christians and Muslims — though being a social religion with clear norms and discipline, naturally Islam has a more visible profile.

The evidence of this is provided by the Soviet information media themselves.

Since the succession of Mikhail Gorbachev as the new Soviet leader, particularly after the 27th CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) Congress, early this year, the work of atheistic transformation has received a new push. The Congress had set for the Party the task of restructuring and accelerating the country's socio-economic development by making full use of the transforming power of

Marxist-Leninist ideology. Atheistic education is an alienable constituent part of this work, declared the Moscow 'Pravda' leader (28 September 1986).

However only the push was new and not the rhetoric or policy.

As the 'state religion' of the Soviet Union, atheism has enjoyed absolute sway for more than 60 years. It has been both the guiding principle and policy objective of the Soviet educational, social, economic and political system. However, the renewed campaign to foster 'committed atheism' and the internal debate and feedback generated by it provided a revealing insight into the state of disbelief that atheism continues to enjoy in spite of all the might of coercive propaganda and persecution employed over six decades and at least two generations.

Apart from atheism being the centre-core of the educational curriculum, atheistic propaganda is conducted at multiple and parallel levels. These comprise a system of lectures and courses, exhibitions, film shows, anti-religious museums, publications — all designed to show the 'false' and 'reactionary' nature of religions and to expose 'the parasitical' lives of its protagonists. To the extent that religion formed the basis of social and cultural practices, new and alternate socialist rites and rituals have been created to replace them. The old customs and practices are banned or discouraged and there are perks and rewards for those who adopt the socialist rites.

On the other hand, there is no virtue in not being an atheist. To be a believer is a socialist sin; punishable here and now instead of in the Hereafter. Given this unchallenged play of absolute state power, if materialistic dialecticism had the slightest validity, then by now there would have been no trace of Islam left in the Muslim republics under Soviet rule. But the 'Kommunist Tadhikstana' (3 September 1986) said, 'Today we are compelled to speak about the fact that the degree of religiousness of the republic's population has noticeably increased.'

The paper cites numerous facts to prove its point; 'the activation of anti-social activity by the Muslim

clergy.'

There are now more frequent cases of the tenets of Islam being taught to young people and teenagers. Literature and tape-recordings with 'ideologically harmful', that is Islamic, contents is being copied and distributed. Even video films with Islamic propaganda content have reached from abroad and are being shown. People of course also listen to foreign broadcasting channels which are aimed at spreading religiousness and which also have an anti-Soviet slant.

In one county students of the SPTU-39 vocational school, doctors and workers of Tadhikabad Hospital and teachers of the primary school were asked, 'Is religion useful to you?'. The majority of students and hospital staff and one-third of primary school teachers replied in the affirmative. Presumably the teachers too felt no differently, but obviously some were afraid to say 'yes' lest it hurt their career. When doctors and medical workers who considered themselves believers were asked to say what was attractive about Islam, many of them answered, they were attracted by the convincing power of its tenets and principles. If doctors and teachers, who must, in the first place, be the protagonists of a scientific-materialistic world outlook respond like this, then this must bear on the ineffectiveness of atheistic work. So lamented 'Kommunist Tadhikstana'.

The paper provides a number of examples to illustrate noticeable increase in religiousness in Tajikistan. For example: many young people including school children observe fast in Ramadan. New born babies are, as a rule, given religious (Muslim) names. Many people do not care to register their marriages with Soviet authorities and regard the Islamic 'nikah' as sufficient. Some even take more than one wife. People donate and collect money for construction and repair of mosques. Many 'chaikhana's' (tea shops) double up as 'illegal' prayer houses and 'Id and other mass prayers and festivals are organised even on Soviet settlements. In sum: 'Part of the population, and especially the rural population, continues to observe unquestionably the teachings of the Qur'an.'



# HOW SUFISM COMBATS THE SOVIETS

Sufism in Central Asia is playing a key role in countering the atheistic environment endured by Muslims living under USSR rule. *George Hardy* looks at the positive work of the Sufi tariqas in the region

There have been many different forms of resistance to European colonialism by Muslim societies in Asia and Africa. In Central Asia the most determined military resistance to Russian expansion into Muslim lands has been associated with Sufism. At present, the continuing importance of Sufism in Central Asia is believed by specialists in the region to be the main explanation of how Islam and Muslim beliefs have survived – and indeed flourished – in the hostile atheistic environment of the USSR.

A recent conference of the Society for Central Asian Studies in Oxford, England, set out to examine the significance of Sufi teachings and organisation for political action in Central Asia, the Caucasus and Afghanistan – lands linked by history, culture and, in the last centuries, by the common experience of resisting European imperialism. Experts who spoke on Sufism included two well-known scholars, Dr Rawan Farhadi, former Afghan diplomat and currently a teacher at the Sorbonne in Paris, and Professor A Bennigsen, who has written many books on the Muslims of the Soviet Union.

They agreed about the importance the Sufi tariqas (orders or brotherhoods) have in Central Asia, as the main force for the survival of Muslim religion and culture in a hostile environment. Sufism no longer provides the ideology and organisation for military resistance of Muslims in Central Asia and the Caucasus, as it did in many struggles against the Russians from the eighteenth century, but it does represent the strong religious faith of Muslims organised independently of the state.

Sufism is a unique preserver of religious faith among the people, and provides Muslims of Soviet Central Asia with a body of religious ideas, and a discipline in one or other of the Sufi tariqas, which has so far prevented the submergence of Muslims as a distinct and fast-growing community of some 40 million people in the USSR.

"Officially acceptable Islam" inside the Soviet Union is represented by a tiny number of ulama, or state-registered (and paid) clerics and religious teachers; in the Caucasus region, before the Bolshevik

Revolution there were an estimated 40,000 ulama, (known as "Arabists"), while now some 50 ulama are registered with the state throughout this large region.

In Daghestan, where in 1913 there were 2,060 mosques and 800 madrasahs (religious colleges), today only 27 mosques are permitted to function by the state, and not one madrasah is open to train ulama. Tiny numbers of mosques and ulama are typical of official acceptable Islam throughout the USSR. Yet these and other signs of decay of official Islamic religious institutions in the Soviet Union are very misleading, for, as the conference made clear, there is a corresponding vitality and success of unofficial Islamic activities represented by the Sufi tariqas' activity among Muslims of the towns and villages, young as well as old, and among the educated elite as well as simple farmers.

What success Islam has had in the USSR in combating 60 years of anti-religious propaganda by the state may be due to the hold of Sufism over the Muslim population. The main tariqa is the Naqshbandiyya, whose shaykhs or pirs (spiritual leaders) have a great hold over their darwish or murids (disciples). Outside the circle of disciples, many more Muslims may pay respect to the shaykh, by listening to his advice and coming at regular intervals to his place of teaching and living (zawiya,



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khanqah and tekke). Besides the Naqshbandiyya, the Qadiriyya order is well established, and two Sufi orders indigenous to the region are also important in Central Asia: the Kubrawiyya and the Yasawiyya.

The independence from the state of the Sufi tariqas, and their outstanding success in attracting the devotion of the Muslim population, makes the shaykhs the constant object of attacks by the Soviet media: they are criticised as "self-appointed religious teachers" (in contrast to the tame variety of state-appointed ulama); "vagabond mullahs"; "fanatics"; "uncontrolled religious fanatics"; or "witch-doctors."

None of this has prevented a growth in prestige of Sufism among the Muslims of Central Asia and the Caucasus in recent years. Now the Sufi-inspired poetry of Turkestan is again widely read in the educated classes, and the rich heritage of Sufism in Central Asia is appreciated as part of the inheritance of the Muslim population.

In Central Asia, more than other parts of the Muslim world, claims Professor Bennigsen, Sufism has been identified with the people and their culture, and it is a natural process for intellectuals of Central Asia in the 1980s to trace their roots to these origins, rather than to Russian or German Marxism. In this process, they have often rediscovered the hidden (and forbidden) beauties of Islam.

Those specialists who have studied Sufism in the USSR are agreed that Islam survives there as a faith and way of life principally because of the work of Sufis. Although there can be no certainty of numbers, many estimate that as many as one in 10 of the total Muslim population of 27 million in Central Asia are connected to Sufi



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vited Shi'ite scholar-clerics from Lebanon and Bahrain to Iran to transform their empire into a Shi'ite one. At the same time, religious leaders successfully separated the actual administration of the *madrasas* from state interference, using the *sahm-i imam* (half of the *khoms* tax) to create financial independence.

The Shi'ite *madrasa* system developed a standard curriculum; certification was by *ijazas*, letters of permission by recognized scholars stating that one was qualified to teach specified items. Students started learning the alphabet in the local *maktab* (elementary school), often run by women. Boys would then proceed to provincial towns for the lower levels of education, then to larger cities for the upper levels, ultimately trying to go where the most renowned scholars lectured. In the nineteenth century this meant Isfahan and then Najaf; in the twentieth century it has meant Qom and Najaf. There are three levels in the curriculum: *muqaddamat*, or preliminaries, which includes etymology, syntax, and rhetoric; *dhat*, or the subject proper, including logic, *usul-i fiqh* ("principles of jurisprudence"), and *fiqh* ("law"); and *dars-i kharij*, external studies, assuming mastery of the books in the curriculum and ability to refine the skills of disputation. Through this last stage one compiles a *taqrirat* ("setting down") of the principles of jurisprudence, which makes one eligible for an *ijaza-i ijtihad*, the permission and obligation to follow one's own reasoning skills, to be a *mujtahid*. Ayatollahs, in prerevolutionary Iran, were those *mujtahids* who performed the dual functions of administering *madrasa* systems, religious taxes, endowments, and contributions and serving laymen as *marja taqlid*, guides in religious matters; since the 1979 Revolution the title *ayatollah* has been used somewhat more loosely. [See Ayatollah.]

In the 1970s there were attempts in Qom to introduce a wider range of topics of study into the *madrasa* system, including English, spoken Arabic, mathematics, the natural sciences, Persian and Arabic literature, and, more hesitantly, the social sciences. In 1975 there were more than 6,500 *madrasa* students in Qom, 1,800 in Mashhad, 1,000 in Isfahan, 500 in Tabriz, 250 in Shiraz, and 300 in Yazd. A large proportion of these came from peasant or clerical families. The clerical leadership itself tended to ensure that its sons received modern university education, and not merely traditional religious education. [See Madrasa.]

**Modern Education.** Modern schools on the secular European pattern were introduced into Iran

sporadically during the second half of the nineteenth century. The government's Dar al-Fonun, or Polytechnic Institute, opened in 1851 and was followed, by the end of the century, by the School of Political Science in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and two military schools. [See Dar al-Fonun.] In provincial cities, schools were introduced more widely through Zoroastrian, Baha'i, Christian, and Jewish organizations headquartered in India, Palestine, England, France, and the United States; these schools were intended to provide services to their coreligionists in Iran but also were open to others. Muslims also began introducing such schools at the turn of the century, beginning with Hasan Roshtiyya in the late 1890s (Tabriz, 1897; Qom, 1898). Government secular elementary schools were introduced in the first decades of the twentieth century: in 1906 Tehran had fourteen such elementary schools; by 1911 there were 123. By 1965 Iran had 2,181,600 students in primary schools, 493,700 in secondary schools, and 28,900 in higher education. There followed both major literacy campaigns and rapid expansion of higher education. By 1975 there were 135,300 higher education students in domestic institutions, some 30,000 in the United States and Great Britain, and others in India, Germany, and elsewhere. Three years later there were some 40,000 Iranian students at universities in the United States alone. Pressure for places at the universities, as well as for jobs commensurate with them, contributed to chronic dissatisfaction.

Syntheses between traditional Shi'ism and modern technological society may be seen as the central dynamic of the decade or two leading to the 1979 Revolution. The Madrasa Alavi was one of a series of semireligious schools (i.e., schools with secular curriculums approved by the government but also with considerable religious curriculum) started by Shaikh Abbas-Ali Islami, under the name Jama'i-yi Talimat-i Islami, including schools for girls where they would not have to confront male teachers. The most important institution for synthesizing educational trends was the Husainiyya Irshad, a mosque and modern teaching facility established in northeastern Tehran, where Ali Shari'ati conducted discussions and lectures on the topic of creating an Islamic sociology. [See Shari'ati, Ali.]

**Soviet Central Asia.** The development of education in Central Asia from a *madrasa* system to a secular system is similar but distinct. The Soviets closed all theological seminary *madrasas* between 1917 and 1941. Two have been allowed to reopen: the Madrasa Mir-i Arab (founded in 1535) was re-

712/1312) et que donc la date au colophon a dû être falsifiée. Ceci n'enlève pas au manuscrit sa valeur interne, et sa récente publication par Mohammad Estel'âmi se justifie. C.F.

21. SOBĤĀNĪ, Towfiq Hâshempur. *Fehrest-e noskehâ-ye khattî-e fârsî-e ketâbkhânehâ-ye Torkîyeh*, 22 ketâbkhâne. Tehrân, Markaz-e Nashr-e Dânesghâhi, 1373/1994, 647 p., index, bibliogr. (Markaz-e Nashr-e Dânesghâhi, 722)  
[Catalogue des manuscrits persans des bibliothèques de Turquie, 22 bibliothèques]

For each library, the author gives some information about the library itself (date of establishment, conditions, etc.) and about its manuscripts and printed books (number, brief description). Then follows a list of books, alphabetically arranged according to the title of the book and the serial number, which gives the name of the author and information about the content, the beginning and the end of the manuscript, and the bibliography. The final chapter has a list of Persian and English sources and is followed by indexes (names of books and names of authors). Fa.A.

— Voir également dans les chapitres *Asie centrale pré-islamique*: n° 152 — *Art islamique, monde iranophone*: n° 531.

## I.2. RECUEILS D'ARTICLES: REVUES, COLLOQUES OUVRAGES COLLECTIFS

D. Aigle, J.-P. Digard, S.A. Dudoignon, C.-H. de Fouchécour, R. Gyselen,  
P. Lory, A. Newman, Tch. Pahlavan, Y. Porter

22. AIGLE, Denise, ed. *Saints orientaux*, préfacé par André Vauchez. Paris, De Boccard, 1995, 247 p., index (Hagiographies Médiévales Comparées, 1)

Ce volume présente le résultat des journées d'études ayant eu lieu les 16 et 17 décembre 1993 à Ivry à l'instigation de D. Aigle, et réunissant des historiens de la sainteté musulmane et chrétienne orientale autour du thème de l'utilisation de la littérature hagiographique comme document d'analyse historique. Neuf islamisants (sur douze intervenants) publient ici leurs interventions. Plusieurs concernent des territoires iraniens, comme celles de J. Paul (v. n° 318), L. Anvar-Chenderoff (v. n° 652) et de D. Aigle elle-même (v. n° 286). D'autres proposent des considérations sur le soufisme qui enrichissent les débats plus généraux sur la sainteté: ainsi de D. Gril «Le miracle en islam, critère de sainteté?», ou de M. Chodkiewicz «La sainteté féminine dans l'hagiographie islamique». P.L.

23. AKINER, Shirin ed. *Political and Economic Trends in Central Asia*. London, British Academic Press/Tauris, 1994, 224 p.

Les articles qui composent ce volume sont issus des communications présentées à un colloque tenu en 1987 à la SOAS et révisées à deux reprises par leurs auteurs, pour une publication qui fut retardée jusqu'aux indépendances nationales de l'automne 1991 en Asie Centrale. Les thèmes principaux soulevés lors de la conférence tourmentent autour de la nature du processus de soviétisation, de la re-traditionalisation des sociétés centrasiatiques et de la capacité des nationalismes ethniques ou de l'islam politique à transcender les obédiences «claniques» traditionnelles. Le volume s'ouvre sur une mise au point de Malcolm YAPP sur la notion d'«Asie Centrale» et l'évolution de son contenu, ainsi que sur une analyse de la relation entre sociétés moderne et traditionnelle en Asie Centrale («Tradition and Change in Central Asia», pp. 1-10). Suit une étude comparative, par Guy IMART, des colonisations française de l'Algérie et russe du Turkestan («Past Western Imperial Crisis: a Lesson for Forthcoming Eastern Ones?», pp. 11-37). On aborde ensuite une série de quatre articles consacrés à l'édu-

cation politique et à l'intégration sociale en Asie Centrale, dans les années 1980: Yaacov RO'i s'intéresse aux aspects purement éducatifs de cette problématique («Political Education in Soviet Central Asia», pp. 43-62), Bess BROWN («Political Developments in Soviet Central Asia: Some Aspects of the Restructuring Process in Turkmenistan, Kirghizia and Kazakhstan in the Late 1980s», pp. 62-74) et Michael RYWKIN («Ethnic Cadres Policy in Uzbekistan», pp. 38-42 — un article qui résume d'importantes publications antérieures du même auteur sur ce sujet) se penchent sur divers aspects de la «politique des cadres» et Martha Brill OLCOTT («Central Asian Youth Problems: The View from the Youth Press», pp. 75-89) sur les problèmes de la jeunesse centrasiatique, perçus à travers la presse des komsomols, principal vecteur du renouveau intellectuel et politique en Asie Centrale depuis le début des années quatre-vingts. Trois auteurs dressent ensuite un tableau assez sombre des économies centrasiatiques (en particulier dans le domaine agricole), en esquisant toutefois quelques lignes de conduite pour les projets d'assistance technique et financière internationale lancés dès le printemps 1992: voir Martin MCCAULEY, «Agriculture in Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the 1980s», pp. 90-101; Stuart THOMPSTONE, «Uzbekistan's Economic Prospects», pp. 102-113 et Alastair MCCAULEY, «Living Standards in Uzbekistan 1960-84», pp. 114-143. Un article de Viktor KOZLOV dresse par contre un tableau fort optimiste de l'évolution démographique de la région dans les prochaines décennies («Ethnodemographic Problems of Central Asia and Measures for their Solution», pp. 143-152). Le recueil se termine par deux contributions sur l'islam centrasiatique à la fin des années 1980: Edward LAZZERINI («Through the Contact Lens Darkly: Soviet Muslims and Their Foreign Co-Religionists 1926-86»; v. n° 565) observe le mode de réintégration des musulmans d'Asie Centrale dans la *umma*, après soixante-dix ans de presque isolement, et James THROWER («Notes on Muslim Theological Education in the USSR in the 1980s»; v. n° 580) donne une description de l'enseignement théologique islamique dispensé dans la région, depuis la déstalinisation jusqu'à la veille des indépendances nationales. S.A.D.

24. BALAY, Christophe; KAPPLER, Claire; VESEL, Živa eds. *Pand-o Sokhan. Mélanges offerts à Charles-Henri de Fouchécour*. Téhéran, Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, diff. Peeters, 1995, 344 p. 23 pl. h.t. (Bibliothèque Iranienne, 44)

L'ouvrage comporte un avant-propos, «En hommage» (pp. 5 à 7), une bibliographie de C.-H. de Fouchécour (pp. 9 à 11), des pages techniques de présentation, puis un ensemble de contributions, vingt-quatre au total, dont deux en persan. Un index d'auteurs et d'œuvres citées clôt utilement ce volume consacré pour l'essentiel à la littérature persane classique. Chacun des articles fait l'objet d'un compte rendu dans ce volume. R.

25. BBC MONITORING, ed. *Inside Central Asia. A Weekly Roundup of Media Reports Covered by BBC Monitoring*. Reading, BBC Monitoring, 1994, 6 p., revue hebdomadaire, n° 17, 2-8 mai 1994.

The first issue of this weekly bulletin was published in January 1994. This region with a population of over 60 million is of great interest to policy makers and investors in different parts of the world, especially in the West. The republics covered by this publication represent «an enormous potential market and production base». Therefore, this bulletin intends to provide up-to-date information on economic and political trends or current affairs, which is difficult to obtain from one's own single resource. The publisher believes it is a «vital reading for anyone planning or doing business in Central Asia». To be able to publish such a bulletin, the BBC Monitoring Service is scanning the international media, television, radio, newspapers and news agencies in the languages spoken in this region from Azeri to Uzbek. The countries covered by the Monitoring Service of the BBC are: Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan and the province of Xinjiang in China. Scholars interested in the current affairs of this region will find in the bulletin various informations on government policies, appointments, security issues, legislation, agriculture, finance, industry and political events in the countries concerned. Regular subscription is rather expensive and thus might be only for business centres and institutes which can afford it. Tch. P.

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KASIM 2002

lapse of the Bolshevik regime in Baku and the establishment of the Centro-Caspian Dictatorship allowed Bicherakov's return; his influence—and that of the Turkish shells landing in the town—was sufficient to inspire an appeal for British aid from the Dictatorship.<sup>41</sup>

Dunsterville had been convinced for some time that with sufficient force (an armored car squadron, a field artillery battery, a British infantry battalion) he could hold Baku. The War Office's misgivings were overridden by the advantages to be gained from possession of Baku port and the oilfields, the lack of alternatives, and Dunsterville's own estimate of the situation. General Marshall in Baghdad, who had control over Dunsterville's operations, remained to be convinced, but London urged him to make full use of the available opportunity. Meanwhile, Dunsterville himself had managed to reach a truce of sorts with the Jangalis, and he was able to respond quickly to the fall of the Soviet and the appeal for aid; within a week, his advance parties were in the town, and he arrived on 17 August with such forces as could be spared from guarding the lengthy line of communications. Nearly 1000 British and Indian troops cooperated against the Turks with a larger Russian force under Bicherakov and local Armenian troops, but it was still a case of too little, too late. Even at that, Marshall felt that Dunsterville had exceeded his authority in pulling so substantial a section of the Persian force to Baku in such uncertain circumstances.<sup>42</sup>

On 14 September, Dunsterville successfully evacuated Baku and returned to Enzeli: his force (without Dunsterville in command, for Marshall had ordered him to Baghdad) remained at Enzeli and on the Hamadan road. Bicherakov and those of his forces who escaped after the fall of Baku went north to Petrovsk, where the Centro-Caspian Dictatorship continued to hold out against the Turkish forces. Gratitude toward Britain's token support and precipitous withdrawal was not noticeably in evidence.<sup>43</sup> However, something of the complexities

<sup>41</sup> *War Diary*, Persia, 43-45; Brinkley, *Volunteer Army*, p. 61; Kazemzadeh, *Struggle*, Ch. VIII; Dunsterville, *Dunsterforce*, pp. 21, 159, 167; Suny, *Baku Commune*, Ch. X-XI.

<sup>42</sup> GOC, Baghdad, telegrams to WO, 9 June, and to Army Headquarters, Simla, 10 and 17 June and 4 July; WO telegrams to GOC, Baghdad, 13 and 29 June and 6 July 1918; *War Diary*, Persia, 43-44; Marshall, *Four Fronts*, p. 311; Burne, *Last Phase*, pp. 88-90; Kazemzadeh, *Struggle*, pp. 133-40.

<sup>43</sup> In addition to the sources cited above, Eastern Committee minutes, 11 and 18 September. *L/P&S*/10/807; War Cabinet 466, 30 August,

of the Caucasus had been learned and a precedent set for British intervention—but for the moment, until the Turkish armistice in late October, activities would have to be focused on Persia, the Caspian, and Central Asia.

ORTA ASYA

## CENTRAL ASIA

The same Russian collapse and pan-Turanian ambitions which jeopardized Allied Caucasian interests created dangers further east; there was no reason why, having once seized upon Baku and the Caspian, the German-Turkish alliance would not work to disrupt a situation in Central Asia and Afghanistan which up to 1917 had not presented any real worry to India. Afghanistan, it was true, had been carefully watched as a place where Indian dissidents took refuge and as the object of small enemy missions, but the ruler, Habibullah, remained faithful to his British commitments.<sup>44</sup> Only in late 1917, when the Caucasus seemed on the point of falling, and when separatist regimes were being established in the half-dozen provinces of the Turkistan governor-generalship as well as in the autonomous khanates of Khiva and Bukhara, was it deemed necessary to mount a small mission, analogous to that of Dunsterville, in the direction of Central Asia. The worries were, once again, possible enemy activity, useful resources (cotton in particular), and the added feature of many thousands of German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners-of-war taken in various Russian campaigns (although

and 468, 3 September 1918, *CAB* 23/7. The *War Diary* volume (Persia, volume 46) for September, 1918, cannot be found in the India Office Library; it is the only missing volume from this series. These volumes had not previously been used by any nonofficial historian, and the absence is highly unfortunate, to say the least—for September, 1918, was the month of the "affair of the twenty-six commissars" (see p. 44), and this volume might possibly have shed new light on that incident. The author wishes to express his thanks to the staff of the India Office Records, however, for the very thorough search carried out for the missing volume among these uncatalogued materials (a search in which the author participated).

<sup>44</sup> *L/P&S*/10/581 and 633. For general background on Afghanistan, see Ludwig W. Adamec, *Afghanistan 1900-1923: A Diplomatic History* (Berkeley, 1967), and Vartan Gregorian, *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan . . .* (Stanford, 1969). Political Intelligence Department, FO, memorandum, 25 June 1918. FO 371/3304.

Briton Cooper Busch

MUDROS TO LAUSANNE:

Britain's frontier in West Asia, 1918-1923. New York 1976,

s. 31-48. ON: 59798

- Rusya  
- Ortaasya

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# STEP'DE EZAN SESLERİ

SOVYET REJİMİ ALTINDAKİ  
İSLÂM'IN 400 YILI  
(L'İslâm en Union Soviétique)

Çeviren  
NEZİH UZEL

Türkiye Diyanet İşleri İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphaneleri	
Kayıt No. :	11764
Tasnif No. :	945.8 BEN.5-

KENT BASIMEVİ  
İSTANBUL - 1981

atleri ve popüler hareketleri görüyordu; daha sonra toplumun devlete yabancılaştırılması bu durumdan kaynaklanmıştır.

Kırım Savaşı'nın Rusya'nın Müslüman tebaasına karşı uyguladığı politikaya etkileri derin ve kalıcıydı, çünkü savaş Müslüman halkın kendisine fazla sadık olmadığını göstermişti. Orta Kırım'daki Müslümanlar Osmanlı-İngiliz kuvvetleriyle işbirliği yapmışlar ve Kafkasya'da Şeyh Şamil'in sürmekte olan Müridist ayaklanması başka Müslümanları da çara karşı çıkmaya teşvik etmek ve Karadeniz'in güvenliğini tehlikeye sokmak potansiyelini taşıyordu. Dolayısıyla, Rus hükümeti 1859'da Şamil'i teslim olmaya mecbur etti ve bu arada Kuzey Kafkasya'da Müslüman nüfusun büyük bir kısmını öldürdü ve milyonlarca kişiyi evinden barkından etti. Bazıları Kuban ovalarına yerleştirildi, fakat birçoğu Osmanlı topraklarına kaçtı. Kırım Müslümanlarının büyük bir bölümü de Rus misillemesinden korkarak daha önceden kitle halinde Osmanlı topraklarına göç etmişti ve bu durum 1856'dan sonra da devam etti.

Rusya'nın Doğu Avrupa'ya ilerlemesine engel olan ve Karadenizi silâhsızlandıran 1856 Paris Antlaşması Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na nefes alacak zaman bıraktı. Rusya Balkan Hristiyanları arasında panslavizm propagandası yapmakta serbest kaldı ve Hindistan'a girişi koruyan Ortadoğu ve Orta Asya Rus yayılmasına ardına kadar açık kaldı. İngiliz hükümetinin Hindistan'la ilgili en büyük korkusu gerçekleşmek üzereydi. Nitekim, Ruslar Orta Asya'yı işgal etmeye başladılar.<sup>23</sup>

23 Rusya'nın Orta Asya'ya yayılması konusunda bkz. Michael Rywkin, ed., *Russian Colonial Expansion to 1917* (Londra, 1988); Richard A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, 1960); George Nathaniel Curzon, *Russian in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question* (Londra, 1889); H. Sutherland Edwards, *Russian Projects against India from the Czar Peter to General Skobelev* (Londra, 1885); H. Blerzy, "Les Révolutions de l'Asie centrale," *Revue Deux Mondes* 5 (1874): 138, 141-44; G. Lejean, "La Russie et l'Angleterre," *Revue Deux Mondes* 69 (1867): 702 ve müt.; Gabriel Charms, "La Situation de la Turquie," *Revue Deux Mondes* 47 (1881): 741; Friedrich von Hellwald, *The Russians in Central Asia* (Londra 1874); Eugene Schuyler, *Turkistan: Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Hokand, Bukhara, and Kulja* (New York, 1876); R. Bosworth Smith, *Muhammad and Muhammadanism* (Lahor, [1974]), s. 246-47; M.A. Tretey, *Russia and England in Central Asia* (Calcutta, 1876); Arminius Vambery, *Sketches of Central Asia* (Londra, 1868) ve *Central Asia and the Anglo-Russian Frontier Questions: A Survey of Political Papers* (Londra, 1874).

Rusların güneye doğru bir hareket başlatmasından çekinen Hindistan genel valisi Bağdat ile Basra'yı işgal ederek orada İngiliz varlığını kurmak için planlar hazırlamaya başladı.<sup>24</sup> Bu arada Ruslar da İngilizlerin, müttefikleri sultan-halifeyi kullanarak Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'daki huzursuz Müslümanlar arasında fesat çıkarmalarından korkuyorlardı.

Rusların Orta Asya'yı işgali Osmanlı'nın bölge ile ilişkileri tarihinde yeni ve belirleyici bir çığır açtı. Genişleyen kapitalizm, modern bir eğitim sisteminin kurulması, yeni tip bir entelijensiya tipinin ortaya çıkışı ve iletişim devrimi Rusya ve Orta Asya'da yeni tip bir Müslüman yarattı. Bu derin sosyo-ekonomik kültürel, politik ve psikolojik dönüşümler bağlamında, Rusya Müslümanları ile Osmanlı Devleti arasındaki tarihî bağlar sıkılaştı ve yeni bir canlılık ve anlam kazandı.

## OSMANLI TÜRKLERİ İLE ORTA ASYA TÜRKLERİ ARASINDAKİ TARİHİ İLİŞKİLER

Osmanlı Türklerinin ataları Orta Asya'dan gelmişlerdir ve güçlü bir müknatsın etkisi altında kalmışçasına kabaca 8. yüzyıldan 15. yüzyılın sonuna kadar sürekli olarak Batı'ya göç etmişlerdir. Ortadoğu'daki Moğol işgali ve Timurlenk'in (1336-1405) Anadolu'ya yürüyüşü sadece bu göçlere ivme kazandırmakla kalmamış, onlara dinî-kültürel özel bir unsur katmıştır. Orta Asya'da Timur İran etkisinin yerine Türkî kültür, dil ve siyasi geleneklerini getirmiş ve ayrıca Anadolu'daki Moğol siyasi nüfuzunu zayıflatmıştır.

Timur'un zaferi, desteklediği Türkî popüler sufi tarikatlerin Anadolu'da ve daha sonra Balkanlar'da çoğalmasına yardım etmiştir. Timur, müritleri veya torunları Anadolu'ya hâkim olan Ahmed Yesevi'yi başlıca dinî şahsiyetlerden biri olarak kabul etmiş ve anısına bugün hâlâ Güney Kazakistan'daki Yesi'de (bugünkü Türkistan) hâlâ ayakta duran muhteşem türbeyi yaptırmıştır; ayrıca Orta Asya'da Türk-İslâm medeniyetinin merkezi olarak Semerkand'ı yeniden inşa

24 Shukla, *Britain, India*, s.28.



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Bilim Dizisi: 26

RENÉ CAGNAT et MICHEL JAN  
**LE MILIEN DES EMPIRES**  
Entre URSS, Chine et Islam,  
Le destin de l'Asie centrale

**İMPARATORLUKLAR BEŞİĞİ**  
SSCB, Çin ve İslam'ın arasında  
Orta Asya'nın Yazgısı

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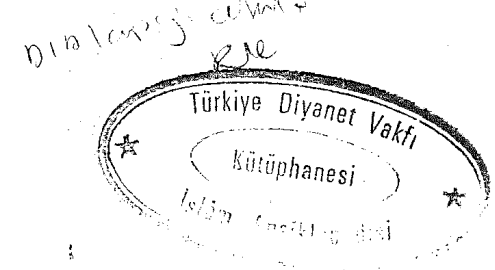
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*Orta Asya*



RENÉ CAGNAT ve MICHEL JAN

# İmparatorluklar Beşiği

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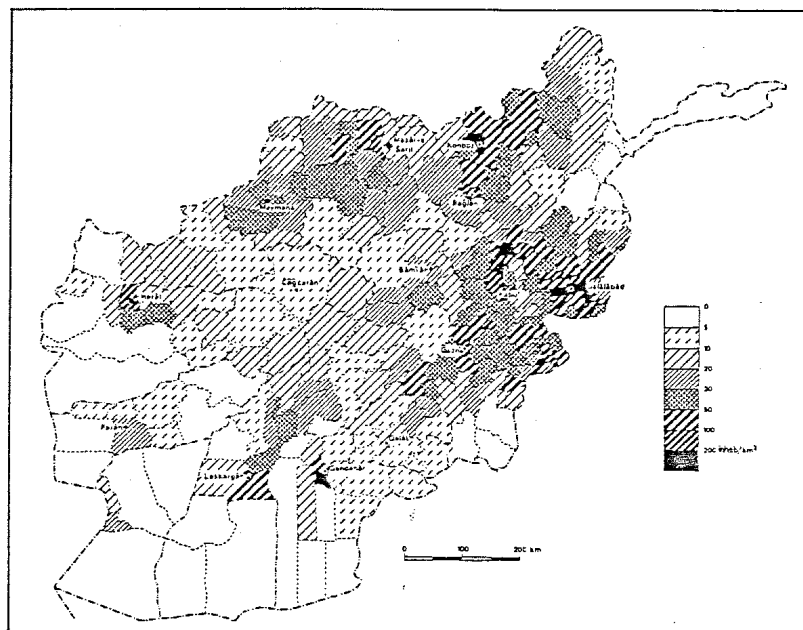


Figure 12. Geographical distribution of the settled population in Afghanistan, according to the 1358 S./1979 census. Source: CSO, *Natāyej*, pp. 148ff.

Table 25  
SELECTED SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS FOR AFGHANISTAN, 1358 S./1979

	Sex Ratio	Crude Death Rate/1,000			Crude Birth Rate/1,000	Total Fertility	Percent of Literates		
		Total	Male	Female			Total	Male	Female
Total	105.8	22.3	22.1	22.4	48.1	7.1	23.5	37.3	8.8
Urban	109.0	18.1	17.7	18.6	39.9	5.8	42.4	55.8	27.6
Rural	105.3	23.0	22.9	23.1	49.6	7.3	20.1	33.9	5.5

Source: CSO, *Natāyej*, pp. 2, 11, 50-54.

**Bibliography:** Unpublished archival materials are cited fully in the text, with the following abbreviations: IOR (India Office Records, London), NAI (National Archives of India, New Delhi). D. Balland, "Contraintes écologiques et fluctuations historiques dans l'organisation territoriale des nomades d'Afghanistan," *Production pastorale et société* 11, 1982, pp. 55-67 (pp. 56-57 for the first maps of seasonal distribution of nomads in Afghanistan, based on data from the 1978 survey). Idem, "Le déclin contemporain du nomadisme pastoral en Afghan-

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ET, IV, London

Orta Asya - 17 NISAN 1992

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(DANIEL BALLAND)

## CENTRAL ASIA

- i. Geographical survey.
  - ii. Demography.
  - iii. In pre-Islamic times.
  - iv. In the Islamic period up to the Mongols.
  - v. In the Mongol and Timurid periods.
  - vi. In the 10th-12th/16th-18th centuries.
  - vii. In the 13th/19th century.
  - viii. Relations with Persia in the 13th/19th century.
  - ix. In the 20th century.
  - x. Economy before the Timurids.
  - xi. Economy from the Timurids until the 12th/18th century.
  - xii. Economy in the 13th-14th/19th-20th centuries.
  - xiii. Iranian languages.
  - xiv. Turkish-Iranian language contacts.
  - xv. Modern literature.
  - xvi. Music.
- (See also ARCHEOLOGY v, vii; ARCHITECTURE iv; ART IN IRAN vi, viii.)

## i. GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

The central expanse of the Asian continent, the land mass situated approximately between 55° and 115° E and 25° and 50° N, comprises two geographically distinct areas. The western part includes the Transcaspian plains and the low tablelands between the Aral Sea and the Tien Shan (lit. "heavenly mountains") range; it is generally equivalent to the territory of western Turkistan (the Turkmen, Uzbek, and Tajik, Soviet Socialist Republics and the southern and western portions of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic). The eastern part encompasses the high plateaus and mountainous perimeters of the Tarim basin (approximately equivalent to Eastern Turkistan, now Sinkiang [Xin-jiang] Uighur province of the People's Republic of China) and Tibet, the area north of the Tien Shan mountains as far as the southern Siberian plains and the Altai mountains (the northern and eastern portions of the Kazakh S.S.R.), and the Gobi desert (comprising parts of the Mongolian People's Republic and Chinese Inner Mongolia), along with the high mountain ridges thrusting east and south into China and Southeast Asia. Although the imprecise term Central Asia has been used to designate various regions within this vast area,

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-Orta Asya

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# CENTRAL ASIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Shireen T. Hunter

Foreword by Marie Bennigsen Broxup

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## معرفی نشریات تخصصی

### بررسی مسائل آسیای مرکزی Central Asian Survey

این فصلنامه در بریتانیا و توسط انجمن مطالعات آسیای مرکزی (The Society for Central Asian Studies) منتشر می‌شود و عمدتاً در خصوص تاریخ، سیاست، فرهنگ، مذهب و اقتصاد آسیای مرکزی و منطقه قفقاز است. همچنین قلمروها و جمعیت‌های مسلمانان ایران و ترک از غرب چین تا غرب آناتولی را که میراث تاریخی، قومی، فرهنگی و زبانی مشترکی دارند و کمونیسیم را تجربه کرده‌اند دربر می‌گیرد. در این منطقه مهمتر از همه جمهوری‌های آسیای مرکزی شوروی سابق، آذربایجان، کریمه و مسلمانان قفقاز و جمعیت ترک شمال قفقاز، میانه ولگا و اُرال هستند که قلمرو آنها جزئی از فدراسیون روسیه را شامل می‌شود. به همین ترتیب ایالت سین کیانگ چین، افغانستان، ایران، ترکیه، ارمنستان و گرجستان نیز در این حوزه قرار می‌گیرند. حوادث سیاسی، اقتصادی، نظامی و آمارهای اخیر که ارتباطات استراتژیک جدیدی را تسریع کرده است، چشم‌انداز جدیدی از تغییرات مهم منطقه‌ای و بومی را ارائه می‌دهد و به این منطقه اهمیت خاصی می‌بخشد. این نشریه بخشی از مغولستان و مناطق وابسته به آن را نیز پوشش می‌دهد. ارتباطات تاریخی عمیق میان مغولستان و آسیای مرکزی و تجربه مغولستان در تغییرات سیاسی و اقتصادی نیز از مسائل مهم و مورد توجه نویسندگان نشریه است. در شماره ۱ سال ۱۹۹۴ این نشریه مقالاتی درج شده است که خلاصه پنج مقاله در ذیل می‌آید:

Turkey and Turkic world. [by] Oral Sander. *Central Asian Survey*. Vol.13, No.1

عنوان: ترکیه و جهان ترک

خلاصه: ترکیه که در میان خطوط متقاطع میان بالکان، قفقاز و منطقه استراتژیک شرق مدیترانه قرار دارد اخیراً نقش محوری در گسترش جغرافیایی اروپا پیدا کرده است. حائز اهمیت است که ترکیه نه به

- فتح نوزدهم: جماعت متفرقه اوخلو را به تدبیر جمع آوردن و خدمت خدمتکاری نمودن.

- فتح بیستم: از قلعه مبارک آباد پانزده منزل را در عرض هفت شبانه روز ایلغار کردن و بر سر قلعه

مزید یزید که در حوالی دُرون است رفتن.

- خاتمه: شمه‌ای از حُسن سلوک و برخی از احوال خیرمآل خان عالیشان معدن عدل و احسان.

محمدطاهر بسطامی در بیان وقایع فوق، آنچه که به سرگذشت فریدون خان مربوط می‌شود - نظیر

اسیر شدن به دست سارقین، فرار و فروخته شدن و ورود به دربار - را از تقریرات شخصی فریدون خان

استفاده کرده است؛ و آنچه که به فتوحات و لشکرکشی‌ها باز می‌گردد از نقل قول‌های شمساقاسم‌بیک

لشکرنویس بهره جسته است.

مؤلف همچنین در جای‌جای مطالب اشعاری را نیز از شعرای بزرگ با ذکر مأخذ و از سروده‌های

خویش با ذکر عبارت «لراقمه» یا «لمورخه» آورده است که تقریباً بر ۱۹۰۰ بیت بالغ می‌گردد؛ و جالب آنکه

نام این وقایع‌نگار شاعر در تذکره نصرآبادی که معاصر و قریب‌المهد با وی بوده ذکر نگردیده است و اینک با

معرفی کتاب فتوحات فریدونیه علاوه بر آنکه یک منبع مهم تاریخی بر ذخایر علمی و ادبی ما در زمینه منابع

تاریخی ایران عصر صفوی افزوده می‌گردد؛ به وجود و اثر یک شاعر عهد صفوی نیز پی می‌بریم.

اهمیت دیگر کتاب فتوحات فریدونیه ارائه مطالبی در خصوص اوضاع نواحی شمال شرقی ایران عهد

شاه عباس اول می‌باشد که تاکنون در کتاب دیگری بدین شرح و تفصیل نیامده است. در این متن تاریخی

همچنین به نام قبایل و طوایفی از تراکمه و ساکنان دشت قبیچاق اشاره شده که شاید بتوان گفت امروزه اثری

از آنها بر جای نمی‌باشد.

محمدنادر نصیری مقدم

13 AGUSTOS 1996

# Central Asia

**130 Years of  
Russian Dominance,  
A Historical Overview  
Third Edition**

**Edited by  
Edward Allworth**

Orta Asya

**Central Asia Book Series**

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*Day Political Organization of China* (1911). Charles O. Hucker, *The Censorial System of Ming China* (1966). E. A. Kracke, Jr., *Civil Service in Early Sung China* (1953). Yu-ch'uan Wang, "An Outline of the Central Government of the Former Han Dynasty," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12 (1949): 134-187. JAMES GEISS

**CENTRAL ASIA** is composed of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (in China), the territory north of the Hindu Kush in Afghanistan, and the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen, and Tajik Soviet Socialist Republics (in the USSR). The region is landlocked and has little precipitation. Irrigation works are essential to the survival of the towns and oases scattered along the inhospitable terrain, which is composed principally of deserts, mountains, and steppelands. The Taklamakan Desert (in southern Xinjiang), the Tian Shan range between China and the USSR, and the Hindu Kush are only a few of the formidable barriers to human habitation.

Despite these obstacles, the fortuitous geographic location of Central Asia has enabled it to serve as a crossroads between China, Persia, Russia, and Europe. The principal trade routes linking the great civilizations of Europe and Asia passed through the Central Asian oases, and a variety of peoples, products, and ideas flowed in and out of the region. Its indigenous economy was composed of a mixture of nomadic pastoralism, subsistence agriculture, and trade. Most of the region's inhabitants converted to Islam about a century after the death of Muhammad (c. 570-632). The vast majority of the people in the area are Turkic-speaking.

Central Asia was traditionally a base for several nomadic empires. The Xiongnu, the Seljuk Turks, the Timurids (the descendants of Timur), and the Uzbeks constituted a few of these powerful military confederations. Their lack of both unity and an orderly system of succession to the throne hampered them and contributed to their decline and fall.

China and Russia, the great powers of the Eurasian land mass, have dominated Central Asia since the eighteenth century. In 1758 the Qing dynasty of China occupied the area now known as Xinjiang, and by 1873 the Russian tsarist government seized the western regions of Central Asia. Since then, both states have attempted to cajole or coerce the native inhabitants into assimilating with the Chinese and Russian peoples respectively. The predominantly Turkic peoples of Central Asia have generally resisted such efforts and have maintained a strong ethnic and religious consciousness. The economic

attractiveness of modern Central Asia is undeniable. It has virtually untapped resources of coal, petroleum, uranium, and gold; it is relatively underpopulated; and the Soviet and Chinese governments have built roads and railroads to link their Central Asian territories with their other domains. Only time will tell whether they will gain the political allegiance of the peoples of Central Asia.

[See also *Turkestan*.]

Edward Allworth, ed., *Central Asia: A Century of Russian Rule* (1967). Joseph F. Fletcher, Jr., "Ch'ing Inner Asia c. 1800," in the *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911, Part 1*, edited by John K. Fairbank (1978). Morris Rossabi, *China and Inner Asia from 1368 to the Present Day* (1975). Geoffrey Wheeler, *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia* (1964).

MORRIS ROSSABI

## CERAMICS

### JAPANESE CERAMICS

The history of Japanese ceramics spans some twelve thousand years, beginning with earthenware made in Neolithic settlements of the Jōmon culture. Advanced techniques were introduced relatively late: high-fired wares in the fifth century CE, glazes by the seventh century, and porcelain in the seventeenth century. The coexistence of new technologies with older methods has resulted in a remarkable expansion of variety within the medium.

Throughout the Jōmon period (c. 10,000-200 BCE), only earthenware was produced. Hand built and fired in open bonfires, Jōmon pottery is technically simple, yet the sculptural forms and decoration are complex and distinctive. Ceramics of the subsequent Yayoi period (c. 200 BCE-300 CE) reflect shifts in settlement patterns. Finer, alluvial clay and improvements in technique, such as the potter's wheel, enabled Yayoi potters to produce smooth, symmetrical forms. [See *Jōmon and Yayoi*.]

The culture of the Kofun, or Tumuli, period (c. 300-710) reflects customs and technological advances brought to Japan from Korea and China. Tomb burials required grave goods made of pottery, and large quantities of earthenware figures and objects called *haniwa* were placed around the perimeter of tombs. High-fired ceramics of a type known as *sueki*, closely related to Korean gray stoneware, were first made in the Osaka region. The new technology, employing tunnel kilns (*anagama*) and improved techniques for building complex forms, spread to other parts of Japan. [See *Tumuli*.]

The prestige of imported Chinese glazed ceramics

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1867-1917

A STUDY IN COLONIAL RULE

*Orta Asya*

Richard A. Pierce

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi İcraatı	
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Lest We Forget....

## Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union

*(This article is based on figures taken from Soviet publications, and freely quotes judgements from the same sources. At the end of the article, there are some comments and corrections by Mehmet Allahverdi. But, since we do not possess exact figures, the population, etc. figures taken from Soviet sources remain as they are. It is certain that these figures grossly and purposely distort and reduce the numbers of the Muslim population and contain other distortions of the truth such as representing the various tribes and dialects of Turks in the Soviet Union as separate "nations," falsifying their origin and descent, etc. The readers will have to use their own judgement in evaluating and correcting these. — Voice of Eastern Turkistan).*

-----Mrs. Shirin Akiner-----

Being a Muslim means submission to the will of God: Belief in God, His Scriptures and His Apostles. The question whether a person is a Muslim or not, depends on the way he lives. The basis of belief is generally accepted to be willingness to associate oneself with it. All those people in the Soviet Union who identify themselves as Muslims belong to the Islamic community; there is nothing hypocritical or fanciful in their claim of being such.

Islam in the Soviet Union was introduced by the Arabs when they conquered Central Asia in the second half of the seventh century. The earliest people to come into its fold were the Turkic natives. By the end of the ninth century, it had spread in Transcaucasia and the European part of Russia.

The Soviet Muslims came first under Russian rule for periods ranging between fifty to three hundred and fifty years ago. They are under the Soviet Communist system for the last sixty-odd years. During this time, the attitude of the rulers towards them has been mostly that of coercion and oppression. But they have remained steadfast in their faith.

They present a vast spectrum of ethnic groups. The differences between them are legion. It is only common religion and citizenship which binds them together. Unlike Muslim populations in most other countries, they do not have a corporate identity. They are formed of a great number of separate elements that have no direct links with one another.

The Sufis of various schools of "Tariqat," such as Naqashbandi, Qadiri, Chishti and Jilani have played a vital role in disseminating Islam in the Soviet Union. Prominent among them were Yousuf Hamadani; Ahmad Yasavi, Najmuddin al-Kubra (twelfth century); and Bahauddin Naqashbandi (1318-89). The Muslims of Transcaucasia, the Volga region and Azerbaizhan owe much to Ahmad Yasavi, the first Turkic Sufi who worked tirelessly to

promote Islam in these areas. During Russian rule, the followers of these schools of "Tariqat" put strong resistance to all moves against Islam. They have been doing whatever is possible to strengthen religious spirit in the Soviet Muslims and till now have great influence among them.

Though divided into various Khanates, the Muslims were the rulers in Russia at first. Their downfall started in the sixteenth century when the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan (Russia proper) fell to Ivan IV, the Terrible, in 1552 and 1556 respectively. In Central Asia, they lost Tashkand (1865), Samarkand (1868) and Khokand (1876). Turkestan finally came under Russian control in 1919. In 1820, they desposed the Emir of Bokhara and the Khan of Khiva. The Muslims thus came under complete control of the Communist regime in 1924 when the former Khanates were annexed into the Soviet Union.

### Muslim Areas

The Muslims are spread over the whole of the USSR. They are found as far West as the borders of Poland, as far East as the borders of China; in Siberia to the North and Central Asia as well as Transcaucasia in the South.

The Soviet Union is a large country. It has 15 Union Republics and 20 Autonomous Regions. In several of these administrative units, the indigenous population is Muslim, as indicated below:

#### Union Republics

1. Uzbek Central Asia.
2. Kazakh Central Asia.
3. Kirghiz Central Asia.
4. Tadzhik Central Asia.
5. Turkmen Central Asia.
6. Azerbaijan SSR—Transcaucasia.

Orta Asya  
Dzhirgatalar  
Kirgizlar  
Türkmenler  
Tajiklar  
Azerbaycan  
Dagistan

XVIII. asır boyunca Kazaklar arasındaki Rus desiseleri devam etmiş ve bir kısım Kazaklar ile Kazakistan'ın büyük bölümü Rus hâkimiyeti altına düşmüştür (Donnelly, *ayn. esr.*, s. 135-138). Geri kalan Kazaklar, Kırgızlar ile birlikte Buhârâ ve Hive Hanlıkları yanısıra ayrı bir kuvvet olarak gelişen Hokand Hanlığı etrafında toplanarak Ruslara karşı mücadelelerine devam etmişlerdir.

Orta-Asya Türkleri arasındaki parçalanmalar, ayrıca Kazakistan'ın şimal-i şarkisinde Sibiryâ'ya doğru olan havâliyi nüfuzları altında bulunduran Kossak'ların, Çarlık otoritesini kabûl etmeleri, Rusların Orta-Asya'ya da daha büyük bir ilgi göstermelerine sebep olmuştur. Ruslar, Orta-Asya hâdiselerini yerinde inceleyip ne gibi ticârî ve siyâsî menfaatler sağlayabileceklerini görmek maksadıyla, 1714'te Buhholz ve 1716-1717 yıllarında da Çerkaskiy başkanlığında keşif heyetleri gönderdiler (H. Stumm, *Russia's Advance Eastward*, London, 1875 s. 3-13). Fakat bu keşif hey'etlerinin bilhassa Hive Hanlığı tarafından te'sirsiz hâle getirilmesi, Rusları oldukça kızdırmış ve Hive'ye karşı hasmâne bir siyâset tâkibine başlamışlardır (Donnelly, *Peter the Great and Central Asia, Canadian Slavonic Papers*, CXVII/2-3, 210 v.d.).

Orta-Asya Türk Hanlıklarının şimalinde bu gelişmeler olurken, İran'da idâreyi eline geçiren Afşar Türkmenleri'nden Nâdir Şah (1736-1747) devletin şarkındaki hanlıkları birer birer işgal ederek, hâkimiyetini Orta-Asya'ya kadar genişletmeğe başlamıştı (Sykes, *ayn. esr.*, II, s. 263 v.dd.; Barthold, *ayn. esr.*, III, 163 v.d.; Howorth, *ayn. esr.*, II, 11, 913 v.d.). Nâdir Şah'ın ölümü ile berâber Orta-Asya'daki İran hâkimiyeti de sona ermiş ve Türk hanlıkları tekrar toparlanma imkânı bulmuşlardır. Bilhassa Merv ve Horasan bölgesinin hâkimiyeti için İran ile tekrar başlayan mücadeleler, XIX. asrın ikinci çeyreğine kadar devam etmiş ve bundan da en çok zararı o bölgelerde yaşayan Türkmen boyları görmüştür (Barthold, *ayn. esr.*, III, 164 v.dd.; Howorth, *ayn. esr.*, II, 11, s. 922; Ş. B. Baturaf, *Mahtum Kulu*, Aşkâbâd, 1961, s. 289 v.d.; *Istoriia Turkmenskoi SSR*, Aşkâbâd, 1957, I, 48). Fakat XIX. asrın başlarında Hive ile Buhârâ arasındaki rekâbetin tekrar düşmanlığa dönüşmesi, bu iki Türk devleti arasında yıpratıcı bir savaşın başlamasına sebep olmuştur (Howorth, *ayn. esr.*, II, 11, s. 920-923). Bu mücadeleye, her iki taraf da kendilerini o kadar kaptırmışlardır ki, 1819/1820 yıllarında Türkmen ilinden Hive'ye doğru mühim bir askerî keşif seyahatı yapan Rus casusu Muravyef'in maksadını dahi anlayamamışlardır.

İran ve bilhassa Hive ile yapılan mücadelelerden oldukça bıkan ve tedirgin olan Buhârâ Emiri Haydar Şah (sal. 1801-1826) İstanbul'a elçiler gönderip pâdişâha biat ettiğini bildirmiş ve teb'alığının kabûlünü ısrarla rica etmiştir (BA, *Hatt-ı Hüma-*

*yun*, nr. 36551; M. Saray, *Rus işgali devrinde Osmanlı devleti ile Türkistan Hanlıkları arasındaki siyâsî münâsebetler (1775-1875)*, İstanbul, 1984, 33 v.d.). Osmanlı hükûmeti uzun müzâkerelerden sonra, Haydar Şah'a güvenemediği için, devletin başına yeni gâileler açabileceği endişesiyle, bu ricasını kabûl edemeyeceğini münâsîp bir lisan ile Buhârâ Emîrine bildirip, Osmanlı Devleti'nin kendisinden memnun olmakla berâber, Hive ve Hokand ile iyi geçinmesini ve Rus tehlikesine karşı birlikte hareket etmelerini tavsiye etmiştir (M. Saray, *ayn. esr.*, 35 v.d.).

b. Rus istilâsı devrinde Orta-Asya Türkleri: XIX. asrın ortalarında Çarlık Rusya'sının, hem Avrupa'da, hem de Orta-Asya'da yayılma ihtirası içinde olduğu görülür. Rusya'nın Avrupa ve Orta Şark'da tâkip ettiği cür'etkâr siyâset, diğer iki emperyalist Avrupa devleti olan Fransa ve İngiltere'yi, ister istemez Rusya'nın karşısına dikmiş ve Osmanlı Devleti ile birlikte bu siyâsete Kırım Harbi (1854-1856)'nde dur denilmiştir. Fakat Rusya'nın Orta-Asya'da yayılmak için giriştiği tecâvüz siyâsetini durduran olmamıştır. 1847'den 1852'ye kadar Ruslar bir taraftan İrgiz ve Turgay nehirleri boyunca yeni kaleler, Aral Denizi kıyılarında da müstahkem mevkiiler inşâ etmişler ve bu arada Çin ile imzaladıkları Gulça andlaşması (1852) ile Orta-Asya'nın istilâsı için gerekli hazırlıkları tamamlamışlar idi (M. A. Terentyev, *Istiora Zavoevaniia Srednei Azii*, Petersburg, 1906, I, 88; C. C. Alikhanov, *The Russians in Central Asia*, İng. trc. London, 1865, s. 320 v.dd.; S. H. Singh, *A History of Khokand*, Lahore, 1878, s.3 v.d.). Fakat, Türkistan'ın şimalden işgali için stratejik ehemmiyeti büyük olan Akmesicid kalesinin alınması gerekiyordu. Bu maksatla 16 nisan 1852'de Rusların yaptıkları ilk hücumu, kale kumandanı olup, ileride müstakil Kâşgar devletini kuracak olan Ya'kûb Bey başariyle önledi ise de, bu kalenin zaptı zarûretine inanan Ruslar, aldıkları büyük takviye kuvvetleriyle General Perovskiy kumandasında bir ordu ile Akmesicid'i dört taraftan kuşattılar. Perovskiy'nin, Akmesicid müdâfilerine gönderdiği teslim notası Rusların niyetini tam mânasiyle ortaya koyuyordu: "Ruslar buraya ne bir gün için, ne de bir yıl için gelmişlerdir. Bilâkis, ebediyyen burada kalmak için gelmişlerdir ve geri çekilmeyeceklerdir" (Hayit, *ayn. esr.*, s. 65 v.d.). Kale müdâfileri Rus hücumlarını aylarca önlemişler ise de, Ya'kûb Bey'in getirmek için gittiği imdat kuvvetleri, zamanında yetişemediğinden Rusların ağır topçu ateşi sonunda mağlûp olmuşlar, bir kısmı katledilmiş, diğerleri de esir alınmıştır (Terentyev, *ayn. esr.*, I, 216-222; Hayit, *ayn. esr.*, s. 66).

Ruslar harab olan kaleyi yeniden inşâ edip Akmesicid'de büyük bir kuvvet toplayarak, Orta-Asya Türk Hanlıkları'nın istilâsı için hazırlıklarına de-

'enslaved Turks', and called for their 'liberation' by Turkey. Imprisoned because of his pan-Turkist activities in the mid-1940s, Turkes nearly came to power in the military coup of 1960 which he had masterminded with a group of young officers. Outflanked by the military junta's senior commanders, Turkes was exiled abroad in 1963. He returned to Turkey in 1965 and has been active in right-wing nationalist politics since then.

28. Alparslan Turkes, 'Turan Bayragi Yukseliyor', *Yeni Dusanca*, 3 January 1992, and 'Orta Asya'da Ulkucu Agirligi', *Yeni Dusanca*, 15 May 1991.

29. Turkes' electoral support has remained quite limited since the late 1960s. His Nationalist Action Party (the predecessor to the NLP) and the NLP have polled an average of 6 to 8 per cent of the total votes in parliamentary elections.

30. The Islamic fundamentalist vote – represented by the National Salvation Party in the 1970s and the WP since the late 1980s – has averaged about 10 per cent of the total vote in national elections.

31. Ecevit was prime minister in 1974 when Turkey intervened militarily in Cyprus. He has also been one of Turkes' principal critics, and often denounced him for his 'racist' views during the ideologically polarized party politics of the late 1970s.

32. This idea does not seem to carry much weight in the Turkic republics at present, either. See James Critchlow, 'Will there be a Turkestan?', *RFE/RL Research Report*, i/28 (10 July 1992), pp 47–50.

33. See Gareth M. Winrow, 'Turkey and former Soviet Central Asia: national and ethnic identity', *Central Asian Survey*, xi/3 (1992), pp 101–11 for a perceptive argument regarding the cultural pan-Turkist overtones of Turkey's outlook on Central Asia.

34. See Cassandra Cavanaugh, 'Uzbekistan looks south and east for role models', *RFE/RL Research Report*, i/40 (9 October 1992), pp 11–14.

35. The differences between the Turkic peoples and Turks in the Balkans or the Middle East regarding their relations to Turkey are forcefully argued by a Turkish intellectual of Central Asian origin. See Ahat Andican, 'Osmanlidan Gunumuze Turkiye-Turk Dunyasi Iliskileri ve Gelecege Yonelik Dusunceler', *Turkistan* [Istanbul], iv/15 (1991), pp 8–11.

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## Iran, the Caucasus and Central Asia

SEYED KAZEM SAJJADPOUR

05 EYLUL 1996

From the ascendancy of Russia as a major European power in the eighteenth century to the collapse of the Soviet Union, Iran's northern neighbour was a source of continuous security concern. While in some cases Iran was able to outmanoeuvre Russia or the Soviet Union, politically Iran was the weaker side, and it often played the classical games of power-balancing by relying on anti-Russian European states, by inviting third parties to offset some of the effects of the Russo-British domination and rivalry in Iran, and, when all else failed, by granting further concessions to its northern neighbour.<sup>1</sup> Neither the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 nor the Islamic revolution of 1979 changed the nature of this asymmetry; both revolutions, in fact, complicated this power relationship by adding an ideological dimension to it.

The breakdown of the Soviet Union ushered in a new phase in the relationship between the two neighbours, changing the long-standing asymmetry in Iran's favour. For the first time in its modern history, Iran now enjoys relatively more power than its new neighbours to the north. All three land neighbours of Iran to the north, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, may be placed behind Iran in terms of such measures of power as land, population, economy, military capability and political cohesiveness.

The aim of the present chapter is to analyse Iran's behaviour towards the post-Soviet republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. It is hoped that the analysis offered here would help carry us beyond such simplistic views of the determinants of Iran's foreign policy in this region as the

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Subject: HISTORY, ASIA, AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA (0332)  
Abstract: The great expansion of Sogdian cities under Islam has long been acknowledged by scholars, and this study established from topographical and historical evidence that the major cities of Sogdia doubled in population from the time of the Arab conquest to the conquest of the Mongols. As reflected in tabaqat literature, the urban migration of rural Sogdians which accompanied the political, social and religious transformation of the region was a major contributor to the growth of Bukhara, Samargand and Nasaf.

The migration of rural Sogdians and the conversion of Sogdia seem not to have been the outcome of the direct contact of the Arab conquerors with rural Sogdians or the result of economic or political considerations, but rather it was the Muslim enterprise itself, the cumulative activities of a host of officials and non-official representatives of Islam who challenged the authority of landlords and loosened traditional ties which bound together the landlord and his clients, servants and retainers. The disappearance of the dihqans as a class with autonomous military and administrative powers was not, as W. Barthold believed, the result of extreme depreciation of land values resulting from the Turkish invasion, but rather the outcome of cooptation by the Muslim government and by dihqan attraction to urban life.

As the old social order eroded, new organizations and institutions, such as the schools of law, the system of legal administration, the madrasah, ribat and khanaqah bound together city and countryside and aided the replacement of the old political and social order, characterized by urban-rural parity, by a new system of urban dominance and control over rural life. This urban dominance was stewarded by a new, self-conscious, semi-autonomous urban elite whose leaders, as exemplified by the Al-i Burhan in Bukhara, at times exercised powers like those of a king.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

## مرکز مطالعات آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز

به دنبال فروپاشی اتحاد جماهیر شوروی و اعلام استقلال جمهوری‌های آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز، شناخت مسائل جمهوری‌های واقع در این منطقه در ابعاد سیاسی، اقتصادی، فرهنگی و مسائل امنیتی، به دلیل قربانهای تاریخی، فرهنگی و دینی با جمهوری اسلامی ایران بر همگان روشن است. لذا ایجاد مرکزی که بتواند تشنگان فرهنگ، تاریخ و سیاست این کشورها را سیراب نماید ضروری به نظر می‌رسید بدین سبب مرکز مطالعات آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز وابسته به دفتر مطالعات سیاسی و بین‌المللی وزارت امور خارجه در تاریخ ۱۳۷۱/۱۲/۱۵ با تصویب هیئت محترم وزیران رسماً کار خود را آغاز نمود و وزیر محترم امور خارجه طی ابلاغی آقای محمود پروجردی را به عنوان رئیس مرکز مطالعات آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز منصوب نمودند. این مرکز به منظور ارتقای آگاهی مردم و دستگاه‌های دولتی نسبت به مسائل مناطق مزبور با استمداد از پژوهشگران داخلی و خارجی سعی در طرح و اجرای پروژه‌های تحقیقاتی، انجام اقدامات لازم در خصوص انعکاس موضوعات مربوط به این کشورها و ارائه تحقیقات در قالب گزارش، کتاب و مقاله نموده است.

در همین راستا ضمن همکاری و هماهنگی با دانشگاه‌ها و مؤسسات تحقیقاتی داخل و خارج به بررسی موضوعات تخصصی مربوط به مسائل آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز در شکل پروژه تحقیقاتی دوجانبه یا چندجانبه نموده و با برگزاری و شرکت در کنفرانسها و سمینارها در صدد جمع‌آوری اطلاعات مورد نیاز برای ایجاد بانک اطلاعاتی مربوط به منطقه شده است. این مرکز برای تحقق اهداف فوق موارد ذیل را در نظر گرفته است:

- پس از برگزاری سمینار روند توسعه در آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز، در سال گذشته، در صدد برگزاری سمینار «بررسی منابع و ظرفیتهای اقتصادی آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز» در دی ماه سال جاری، با دعوت از محققین، استادان و پژوهشگران داخلی و خارجی که در دفتر مطالعات سیاسی و بین‌المللی برگزار خواهد شد، می‌باشد.

ORTAASYA

## مجله مطالعات آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز

جلد: II/س. 4 (1373/1994)  
Tehran, s.

مدیر مسئول: عباس ملکی  
سر دبیر: هاشم نصیری

تمامی آرا و نظرهای مندرج در مقالات الزاماً مورد تأیید ناشر مجله نیست.

### فصلنامه (مرکز مطالعات آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز)

وابسته به وزارت امور خارجه جمهوری اسلامی ایران

نشانی: تهران، خیابان شهید باهنر، خیابان شهید آقایی

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حروفچینی، صفحه‌آرایی، لیتوگرافی، چاپ و صحافی:

### مؤسسه چاپ و انتشارات وزارت امور خارجه

دفتر مرکزی و فروشگاه شماره ۲: تهران، شمیران، خیابان شهید باهنر، خیابان

شهید آقایی صندوق پستی: ۱۹۳۹۵/۴۷۴۶، تلفن: ۲۵۷۷۰۱۹-۲۰

نمایشگاه و فروشگاه مرکزی و مرکز پخش: تهران، خیابان آیت‌اله طالقانی،

بعد از تقاطع بهار، پلاک ۱۷، صندوق پستی: ۱۵۸۷۵/۶۳۵۳، تلفن: ۷۶۸۵۸۲

نمایشگاه و فروشگاه شماره ۱: انتهای خیابان شهید باهنر، میدان شهید باهنر

تمامی حقوق محفوظ است.

13 AGUSTOS 1996

بها: ۳۰۰۰ ریال

بهای اشتراک سالیانه: ۱۲۰۰۰ ریال

## گزیده‌ها

## خلاصه گزیده مقالات اقتصادی آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز

به دنبال تجزیه اتحاد جماهیر شوروی به جمهوری‌های مستقل و گسستن آنها از سیستم حکومت مرکزی هریک از این جمهوری‌ها بر آن شدند تا سیستم اقتصادی خود را بازسازی کرده و ضمن قطع وابستگی به مسکو و با برقراری مبادلات تجاری با کشورهای همسایه و سایر کشورها، سیاست اقتصادی جدیدی اتخاذ کنند، شایان ذکر است که در این راه، ناهمواری‌های ناشی از سیستم اقتصادی بسته و وابسته به مرکز، تورم، واحدهای پولی جدید و عدم توانایی در تأمین نیازهای اولیه مردم فشار شدیدی به این کشورهای تازه استقلال یافته وارد کرده است. به منظور بررسی و پیگیری روند تغییرات اقتصادی و میزان موفقیت این کشورها در بازسازی اقتصادی و تأثیر کلی آن در منطقه آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز و امکان برقراری رابطه تجاری با این کشورها به منظور گسترش دامنه همکاری‌های اقتصادی کشورمان و با مراجعه به نشریات داخلی و خارجی و گزینش مقالات و گزارشات اقتصادی و تهیه خلاصه‌ای از اهم مطالب آنها کوشیده‌ایم تا گامی در این راستا برداریم. بدین منظور در این شماره چکیده‌ای از مقالات منتخب از آخرین شماره نشریات فارسی و انگلیسی ارائه و معرفی می‌گردد تا مورد استفاده و بهره‌برداری کارشناسان و علاقه‌مندان مسائل اقتصادی این کشورها قرار گیرد.

## آسیای مرکزی

China's basic policy towards Central Asia. *Beijing Review*. Vol.37, No.18 (2-8

May 94) p.18-19.

عنوان: سیاست اصلی چین در مقابل آسیای مرکزی

خلاصه: لی‌پنگ (Li Peng) نخست‌وزیر چین در یک دیدار رسمی از چهار جمهوری آسیای مرکزی - ازبکستان، ترکمنستان، قرقیزستان و قزاقستان و نیز مغولستان در ۱۹ آوریل سخنرانی در پارلمان ازبکستان ایراد کرد که موضوع آن سیاست اصلی چین برای توسعه روابط با ملل آسیای مرکزی بود. وی در این سخنرانی بر حفظ روابط خوب همسایگی و همزیستی صلح‌آمیز، ارتقای سطح همکاری، برابری، نفع دوجانبه، احترام و به رسمیت شناختن استقلال این منطقه، عدم دخالت در امور داخلی، کمک به صلح و

که درآمدها با هزینه‌های روبه افزایش مطابقت ندارد جزء اولین کسانی هستند که باید با تصمیمات مشکل خریدن یا نخريدن آذوقه مبارزه کنند. فشارها و هزینه‌های اجتماعی مرتبط با این مشکلات اجتماعی، نگرانی‌های مرتبط با توانایی، بیشترین گروه‌های آسیب‌پذیر زنان را در تحمل روند اصلاحات افزایش می‌دهد.

چهار گروه از زنان، آسیب‌پذیرترین قشر قزاقستان امروز را تشکیل می‌دهند:

- زنان کهنسال روسی در مناطق شهری

- مادران قرقیز

- زنان در تمام سنین در گروه‌های قومی که در مناطق کوهستانی دوردست زندگی می‌کنند

- زنان کشاورز در مزارع خصوصی‌شده

در میان این گروه‌ها نشانه‌های فقر کاملاً مشهود است: کمبود غذا، پوشاک، بهداشت و سوخت‌های حرارتی. در اینجا حداقل دو سؤال مطرح است: زنان چگونه با کاهش امنیت اجتماعی و اقتصادی خود کنار می‌آیند؟ و آیا در قبال فروپاشی بعضی ساختارهای اجتماعی جایگزین مناسبی وجود دارد تا از این قشر آسیب‌پذیر حمایت کند؟

یکی از بهترین منابعی که می‌تواند این مشکلات را پایان دهد، زنان هستند. آنان باسواد، متکی به خود و مصمم در تحمل و حل مشکلات هستند. آنان در حقیقت میراث زنده سنت دیرینه بقا هستند. توانایی‌های اساسی زنان با به کارگیری حمایت اجتماعی سازمان یافته، انتقال اقتصادی صلح‌آمیز را تضمین می‌کنند.

تلخیص از بدرالزمان شهبازی

13 AGUSTOS 1996

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(اطلاعیه شماره ۲)

«سمینار بررسی منابع و ظرفیتهای اقتصادی آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز»

۲۴-۲۶ دی ماه ۱۳۷۳ - تهران

به اطلاع پژوهشگران و محققان علاقمند به مباحث آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز می‌رساند  
موضوعات خاص سمینار به شرح زیر می‌باشد:

۱. بازرگانی

۲. راه و ترابری

۳. انرژی (هیدرولیک - هسته‌ای - نفت و گاز)

۴. محیط زیست

۵. دانش فنی و نیروهای متخصص

۶. ثبات سیاسی و آینده اقتصادی

پژوهشگران و محققانی که مایل به ارائه مقاله در موضوعات سمینار هستند می‌توانند  
خلاصه مقاله یا طرح تحقیقاتی خود را به مرکز مطالعات آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز ارسال نمایند.

صندوق پستی: ۱۷۹۳-۱۹۳۹۵

فاکس: ۸۰۱۹۸۵۹ (۰۰۹۸۲۱)

آدرس: تهران - خیابان شهید باهنر، خیابان شهید آقایی

تلفن: ۸۰۱۹۸۶۰

13 AGUSTOS 1996

\* O. H. Asyja

## خلاصه گزیده مقالات آسیای مرکزی،

## قفقاز و روسیه

## آسیای مرکزی

بیابان‌زدایی در جمهوری‌های آسیای مرکزی. [مترجم] علی شاهین. جهاد. س ۱۳، ش ۱۶۲.

خلاصه: بیابان بیش از ۲۱۰ میلیون هکتار یا در حدود ده درصد از کل خشکی‌های شوروی سابق را می‌پوشاند و ۹۴ درصد از این بیابانها در سه جمهوری آسیای مرکزی یعنی قزاقستان، ازبکستان و ترکمنستان در یک کمربند وسیع یافت می‌شود. طبق نقشه حاصل از گسترش کویر در زمینهای خشک شوروی سابق توسط عوامل مخرب انسانی، ۶۰ درصد از زمینهای خشک منطقه در مراحل مختلف کویری شدن قرار دارد که از جمله چرای مفرط و بوته‌کشی برای مصارف سوخت از عوامل آن بوده است. احیای بیابانها با شیوه جنگل‌کاری در شوروی سابق که تاریخچه‌ای قریب صد سال دارد و تجربه حفظ و احیای منابع طبیعی در جمهوری ترکمنستان نشان می‌دهد که هزینه‌های کلی برای ایجاد کمربند جنگلی در نواحی بیابانی در مدتی کمتر از ۸ سال با استحصال علوفه و چوب جبران شد و راندمان تولید و مرتع به‌طور متوسط ۸ تا ۱۰ درصد افزایش یافت. علاوه بر آن تولید گیاهان چوبی، حسب گزارش، ۹ متر مکعب در هکتار بوده است. طبق اقدامات موفقیت‌آمیزی که در این مقاله ذکر شده، این موضوع اثبات شده که اگر فعالیتهای انسان عاقل با آرمانهای حفظ طبیعت آمیخته شود، ممکن است کویری شدن اراضی توقف یافته، حتی بهبود و احیای زمینهای مخروبه نیز ممکن شود.

اسلام در آسیای میانه. [نویسنده] علی اکبر حاج مؤمنی. نامه فرهنگ. س ۳، ش ۱، (بهار ۱۳۷۲).

خلاصه: جمعیت مسلمانان ساکن جمهوری‌های آسیای مرکزی و قفقاز در مجموع عظیم‌ترین

مفصل است.

اما افسانه‌ای که از دوران کهن باقی مانده داستان استنکارازین است که گویا راه بر تاجران دریایی می‌گرفته و بر مبنای آن کلاروئف آهنگساز روس یکی از زیباترین دریا سازی‌های موسیقی را به وجود آورده است. استنکارازین مرد نیرومند قزاق است که در دریای خزر راه را بر کاروانهای مسافر و مال‌التجاره می‌بسته و گاه بنادر مختلف دریا را نیز غارت می‌کرده‌است، در یکی از این غارتها شاهزاده‌خانمی ایرانی را اسیر می‌کند و بر او دل می‌بندد و او را با کشتی خود به سوی مکانی که در یکی از شاخه‌های رود ایدل که همان ولگا باشد می‌برد، داستانی دیگر با آن آمیخته شده و در آن داستان شاهزاده خانم ساسانی و یا به قولی هخامنشی است که از غرب دریای خزر ربوده می‌شود و این مقارن است با حکومت خسرو انوشیروان. حکومت از تمام دریانوردان خزر کمک می‌خواهد و با وجود طوفان دریا کشتی دزدان به مصب رود ولگا می‌رسد و به آن وارد می‌شود. اما امواج خشمگین رود حرکت کشتی را کند می‌کند و ساحل‌نشینان به کمک می‌رسند پس از آن، راه‌بند دریایی درمانده می‌شود. استنکارازین دختر را روی دست گرفته بر دماغه کشتی بالا می‌برد و خطاب به رود ایدل که آن زمان و تا قرن‌ها بعد پرستیده می‌شده فریاد می‌زند ای رود من هرگز هدیه شایسته‌ای به تو تقدیم نکرده‌ام و اینک گرانباترین چیزی را که در جهان یافته‌ام به تو تقدیم می‌کنم و دخترک را به امواج ولگا می‌سپارد، لحظه‌ای بعد نفت‌اندازان کشتی او را به آتش می‌کشند.

## آسیای مرکزی و حدود آن

محمدعلی احمدیان<sup>۱</sup>

اصطلاح آسیای مرکزی بنابر اقوال مختلف، منطقه وسیع مابین دریای خزر تا مغولستان چین را دربر می‌گیرد. در این حفاصل غربی‌ها عمدتاً به نواحی شرق کوه‌های تیان‌شان و فلات پامیر (یعنی سین‌کیانگ و تبت و مغولستان) نظر داشته‌اند و برخی دیگر قسمتهایی را برآن افزوده‌اند و حکومت شوروی سابق به نواحی غربی این ارتفاعات که تا دریای خزر امتداد می‌یافته است عنوان آسیای مرکزی یا میانه داده است.

این روزها به مناسبت رهایی جمهوری‌های مسلمان‌نشین از شر قدرت استکباری فروپاشیده‌ی الحادی، اصطلاح آسیای مرکزی و آسیای میانه بکرات به کار می‌رود. ضمن سپاسگزاری به درگاه الهی از اینکه شاهد روزگار وصل برای این دورماندگان از اصل خویش هستیم، در این سطور می‌خواهیم به ذکر این نکته بپردازیم که آسیای مرکزی از نظر جغرافیایی به کدام ناحیه اطلاق می‌شود و اصولاً آیا محدوده ثابت و روشنی دارد یا خیر؟

لازم است قبل از هر چیز آشنایی مختصری با وضعیت مورفولوژی نواحی مختلفی که به نوعی در محدوده تعاریف مربوط به آسیای مرکزی قرار می‌گیرند، پیدا کنیم. دریای خزر در غرب این محدوده و ناحیه «منچوری» در شرق آن قرار دارد. از دریای خزر به سمت شرق اولین عارضه مهم جغرافیایی «پستی توران» است که دریاچه «آرال» در شمال آن قرار گرفته است. وجود

۱. دکتر محمدعلی احمدیان عضو هیئت علمی دانشگاه فردوسی مشهد می‌باشد.

13 AGUSTOS 1996



6. EVERETT-HEATH, Thomas (ed.). *Central Asia. Aspects of Transition*. Richmond, Curzon Press, 2003, 288 p., biblio., index.

Ce volume d'articles est le produit du séminaire d'études centrasiatiques dirigé à SOAS par Shirin Akiner. Il se subdivise en plusieurs ensembles, portant chacun sur une période de l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale depuis la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale. Une première section est constituée d'études sur la période révolutionnaire et le début de la période soviétique (1917-1924) : après un article de mise au point, sur la base de sources primaires textuelles russes et occidentales, sur le rôle de Mikhaïl Frounze dans l'organisation du Front du Turkestan (Alexander Marshall, « Turkfront: Frunze and the Development of Soviet Counter-Insurgency in Central Asia », pp. 5-29), on aborde l'impact d'une absence de coordination entre l'émirat de Boukhara et les leaders de l'Autonomie turkestanais dans l'échec de la résistance vernaculaire à l'emprise bolchévique sur l'Asie Centrale (Paul Berge, « The Kokand Autonomy, 1917-18: Political Background, Aims and Reasons for Failure », pp. 30-44), puis un article curieusement dépourvu d'apparat critique, sur l'affrontement entre dirigeants communistes principalement ouzbeks et kirghiz au sujet de la délimitation nationale opérée à partir de 1924 (Arslan Koichiev, « Ethno-Territorial Claims in the Ferghana Valley during the Process of National Delimitation, 1924-7 », pp. 45-56), avant une contribution sur les réformes agraires des années 1920 en Asie Centrale qui passe en revue quelques ouvrages de souvenirs de représentants de l'émigration turkestanais en exil et les travaux de chercheurs occidentaux (Gerard O'Neill, « Land and Water 'Reform' in the 1920s: Agrarian Revolution or Social Engineering ? », pp. 57-79). Ce premier ensemble est suivi d'un second sur le processus de construction nationale à divers moments de l'histoire du court 20<sup>e</sup> s. : une première étude comparative passe en revue la littérature scientifique, principalement occidentale, sur la création de la République turque en 1923 et celle de la RSS Ouzbèke en 1924, pour insister sur l'opposition entre la résolution et la continuité dans l'action du régime d'Ankara, d'une part, et de l'autre les nombreuses hésitations, voire l'aporie générale, du régime soviétique à Tachkent dans les années 1920-30 face aux enjeux de la construction nationale (Andrew Segars, « Nation Building in Turkey and Uzbekistan: The Use of Language and History in the Creation of

National Identity », pp. 80-105) ; vient ensuite un article sur les problèmes d'identité collective des nationalités exogènes au Kirghizstan (Robert Lowe, « Nation Building and Identity in the Kyrgyz Republic », pp. 106-131), suivi d'une très brève étude sur les utilisations politiques successives de la référence historique au soulèvement du khan Kenesary (de 1837 à 1847) au Kazakhstan après la seconde guerre mondiale (Henri Fruchet, « The Use of History: The Soviet Historiography of Khan Kenesary Kasimov », pp. 132-145). Un dernier ensemble d'articles porte sur les transformations économiques et sociales de l'Asie Centrale post-soviétique. Le premier esquisse, selon un schéma assez classique, des pistes de comparaison entre le développement économique et social de l'Asie Centrale soviétique dans les années 1950-90 et celui que l'on observe pendant la même période à la fois dans les régions européennes de l'URSS et les pays du Proche-Orient (Alex Stringer, « Soviet Development in Central Asia », pp. 146-166). Il est suivi par une étude qui insiste sur l'instrumentation politique des questions d'écologie par les pouvoirs présidentiels issus de la période soviétique, et sur les faibles perspectives de participation politique populaire dans ces questions (Lars Jalling, « Environment Issues in Central Asia: A Source of Hope or Despair ? », pp. 167-179). Vient ensuite une étude comparative assez superficielle, basée pour l'essentiel sur des articles de presse, sur les progrès de l'islam politique radical au Kazakhstan et en Ouzbékistan (Tom Everett-Heath, « Instability and Identity in a Post-Soviet World: Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan », pp. 181-204). Elle est suivie d'une contribution beaucoup plus substantielle sur la politisation des unités de voisinage en Ouzbékistan depuis les années 1990 (Elise Massicard & Tommaso Trevisani, « The Uzbek Mahalla: Between State and Society », pp. 205-218). Le volume se conclut par deux études panoramiques, l'une sur les progrès du « fondamentalisme » en Asie Centrale, laquelle se réduit à un commentaire de la bibliographie accessible en anglais (Petra Steinberger, « 'Fundamentalism' in Central Asia: Reasons, Reality and Prospects », pp. 219-243), l'autre sur les ressources hydrauliques comme enjeu économique et politique majeur des années à venir en Asie Centrale (Karl Wegerich, « Water: The Difficult Path to a Sustainable Future for Central Asia », pp. 244-263). L'ensemble laisse une impression générale de travail de synthèse fondé, pour l'essentiel, sur la bibliographie anglo-saxonne existante. Des bonnes études relevant d'un travail de second cycle voisinent avec un nombre plus réduit d'articles plus achevés, témoignant d'un important travail de terrain, les unes comme les autres étant réunies par un même goût de la théorisation.

S.A.D.

وفي مجموع مدن آسيا الصغرى (الأناضول) وقراها أعداد كثيرة من الشيعة لاسيما كل من أماسيه، وعثمانجيك، وحاجي كوى، ولاويك، ومنجيد، وقره حصار، وأنقرة، وسيواس. (راجع تركيا).

### آسيا الوسطى<sup>(١)</sup>

آسيا الوسطى منطقة تمتد من بحر قزوين غرباً إلى جبال تيان شان، وبحيرة باكاش شرقاً، ومن أطراف الغابات السيبرية، المعروفة باسم تايجا، في الشمال إلى جبال هندوكوش وهضبة البامير في الجنوب. أما من حيث أقسامها الطبيعية الكبرى فهي: السهوب الشمالية الغربية المحيطة بالأجزاء الشمالية من بحر آرال، وسهوب تركستان وما وراء النهر. وهذه الأخيرة بحاجة إلى توضيح خاص.

ذلك أن النهر المقصود هو نهر أموداريا (أكسوس عند اليونان) أو جيحون، وقد عرف بهذا الاسم عند جغرافي العرب ومؤرخيهم. وقد عرفت هذه المنطقة بالذات باسم ترانسا وكسيانيا عند جغرافي اليونان، ومعناها ما وراء (أو عبر) نهر أكسوس، فسار المؤلفون العرب على النهج نفسه وأسماها ما وراء النهر (والنهر المقصود عندهم هو جيحون). وإذا تذكرنا أن هناك نهراً آخر يصب في بحر آرال هو نهر سيرداريا ويسمى جاكسرتس (يونانياً) وعرف باسم سيحون (عربياً)، أدركنا أن ما وراء النهر هي، في الواقع، رقعة من البسيطة تقع بين هذين النهرين.

على أننا يجب أن نذكر أن آسيا الوسطى متصلة بسهوب أوروبا الشرقية وسهولها، وبأفغانستان وإيران في الجنوب، وسهول سيبيريا شمالاً. لذلك فإنها لا تتمتع بحدود طبيعية معينة. فضلاً عن ذلك فإن تنقل الشعوب والقبائل فيها تنقلاً مستمراً كان كثيراً ما يغير تسميات بعض أجزائها، فنفقد الدليل الأصلي. وإذا فلنحتفظ بما أوردناه على أنه أوضح ما يمكن وأدق ما توصل إليه الباحثون.

كل ذلك حتى العصور الوسطى حيث تأسس الدولة البيزنطية، ودولة الرم البونتين، والحمدانيين، وسلاجقة الروم وما تبعها من إمارات ودويلات انتهت بقيام دولة العثمانيين التي حلت محلها الجمهورية التركية الحديثة، والتي حولت عاصمتها إلى أنقرة في قلب الأناضول.

وهكذا تبدو ساحة الأناضول نجداً جبلياً بالغ الاتساع يشكل شبه جزيرة طولها (١٦٠٠) كيلومتر وعرضها (٦٤٠) كيلومتراً يحيط بها من الشرق والجنوب الاتحاد السوفيتي وإيران وسوريا والعراق، بينما في الغرب حث بقية تركيا الأوروبية في منطقة تراقيا تحدها اليونان وبلغاريا، ويفصل بين الجانبين الآسيوي والأوروبي بحر مرمرة ومضيق البوسفور والدردينيل المتحكمان في المعبر الوحيد بين آسيا وأوروبا، وهو معبر لم يعد بحرياً فقط، بل لقد أصبح برياً أيضاً منذ افتتح عام ١٣٩٣هـ (١٩٧٣م) جسر هو الرابع من حيث الطول بين الجسور المعلقة في العالم، يمتد فوق مضيق البوسفور، ويربط بين أوروبا وآسيا من خلال شبه جزيرة الأناضول، التي كانت على مدى العصور طريق التبادل التجاري والغزو العسكري والانتقال الحضاري بين الشرق والغرب.

وقلب الأناضول التاريخي يتألف من مستطيل جغرافي يمتد بين مدن أنقرة، وقونية، وأفسري، وقيصرية، يتوسطه حوض الانحراف الذي يحتضن سلسلة من المدن الصخرية تمتد من نوشهر إلى أورتا حصار وأوج حصار، وأور جوف، وكورمة، جوريم، وأفانوس، وسلفي، وقاقاني، ونيغدا. هذا الحوض هو مجموعة من السهول والوديان تكونت مع مرور الزمن من الرماد والحمم البركانية قذفها قمة جبل أرجيا (٣٩١٧ متراً) وشارك فيها بركان جبل حسن الغربي (٣٢٦٣ متراً).

وكانت بلاد الأناضول تُستترك تدريجاً بعد احتلال السلاجقة لها في القرن الحادي عشر، كما أخذ سكانها يدخلون في الإسلام. ومع هذا فقد كان عدد الأرمن واليونان لا يستهان به إبان القرن الثالث عشر.

(١) هذا البحث وبحث تركستان يتم احدهما الآخر.

verilen 1058 H. tarihli Arapça şiyadet hüccetinin ikinci satırında Peygambere salavat getirilirken: "Salât ve selâm-ı ezkâ Fatımatü'z-Zehrâ'nın evladı hakkında şöyle diyene olsun: "Her kadının oğullarının asabesi babalarıdır. Veled-i Fatıma hariç, ben onların babası ve asabesiyim..." 147 denir. Görüldüğü gibi burada bir seyyidin sıdayeti belgelenirken, Nikabet Teşkilatının "Seyyidler kimlerdir?" sorusunu cevaplayan tavrı da açıkça ortaya çıkmakta, seyyidlerin Hasanılığı ve Hüseyinliğine işaret edilmektedir.

Devamı Var



Atatürk Üniversitesi İLAHİYAT  
FAKÜLTESİ DERGİSİ, sayı: 11  
(Erzurum-1993) s. 211-225.

20 ARALIK 1993

## ORTA ASYA'DA TARİKATLAR \*

Alexandra Bennigsen \*\*  
Fransızca'dan çeviren :  
Doç. Dr. Osman Türer

Yarım asırdan fazla bir zamandan beri yetkililerin, geçmişin ön yargılarından ve bätıl inançlarından ve dolayısıyla dinden tamamiyle arındırılmış yeni bir toplum inşa ettiklerini iddia ettikleri SSCB'de, tasavvufun hakikaten tam bir yayılma halinde olması ve şu anda sadece dinî değil, fakat aynı zamanda siyasî bakımdan Devrim öncesine nisbetle muhtemelen daha da etkili bir gücü temsil etmesi mantığa aykırı gibi gelebilir.

Tıpkı XIII. asırda Cengiz Han istilâsının Orta Asya'da resmî İslâmî (zâhîrî (exotérique) İslâm) "Müessese" yı yıktığı ve buna karşılık tasavvufun halk kitlelerinin içerisine yerleşmek suretiyle Hz. Peygamber'in dinini koruduğu gibi, XX. asırda da Marksizm-Leninizm'in yerleşmesi "tarikat" ların yayılmasını teşvik etmiştir.

\* Ecole des hautes Etudes en Sciences sociales (Paris) Öğretim Üyelüğünden emekli iken Haziran 1988'de ölen yazarın bu makalesi, A. Popovic ve G. Veinstein'in yayına hazırladıkları ve uluslararası bir sempozyuma sunulan tebliğlerin yer aldığı "Les Ordres Mystiques Dans l'Islam. Cheminements et Situation Actuelle" adlı eserde yer almaktadır (Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1985, s. 27-36). Makale kaleme alındığında SSCB henüz dağılmamış olduğu için, okunurken bölgenin o zamanki şartları ve idarî sistemi göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır.

\*\*Bu makalenin yazarı A. Bennigsen, SSCB sınırlarına dahil bölgelerdeki Türk-İslâm kültürü hakkında dünyaca tanınmış uzmanlardan biridir. SSCB genelindeki İslâmî tarikatlar hakkında, Chantal Lemercier Quelquejay ile birlikte "Sûfi ve Komiser. Rusya'da İslâm Tarikatları" adında müstakıl bir de kitap yazmıştır. Söz konusu bölgedeki İslâm tarikatlarının özellikle yakın geçmişi ve günümüzdeki durumu hakkında oldukça detaylı ve dokümanter bilgiler ihtiva eden bu kitap, tarafımızdan tercüme edilerek Akçağ yayınları arasında neşredilmiştir (Ankara, 1988)

*Ihr Fortleben im Abendland. Historische Darstellung.* Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 2000.

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Karen C. Pinto

## CENTRAL ASIA, ISLAM IN

Central Asia is a modern geographical designation covering an area of considerable political, ethnic, and linguistic diversity, but marked by a distinctive cultural synthesis rooted in the meeting of the civilization of Inner Asia with that of the Middle East and the Islamic world. In terms of contemporary political boundaries, it comprises the newly independent post-Soviet states of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, as well as adjacent parts of the Chinese province of Xinjiang, of northern Afghanistan, of northeastern Iran, and of the Russian Federation.

The chief historical regions comprising Central Asia include Mawarannahr, often called Transoxiana or Transoxania, the traditional heartland; the Farghana valley; the Tarim basin, often called Chinese or East Turkistan and now forming the major part of the province of Xinjiang in the People's Republic of China; the Syr Darya valley, with its commercial oasis towns; the steppe regions to the north known since the eleventh century as the Dasht-e Qipchaq; the region of the Amu Darya delta to the south of the Aral Sea, known historically as Khwarazm; and Khurasan, typically regarded as the northeasternmost province of Iran, but more often closely linked with Transoxiana in political, ethnic, and economic terms.

### From the Arab Conquest to the Mongol Invasion

The Arab conquest of Iran brought Muslim armies to Khurasan, and raids were conducted as far as Balkh and into Transoxania already during the 650s, as Arab governors based first in Basra in Iraq and later (from 667) in Marv began the dual policy of establishing garrison towns in some areas, with Arab families transplanted from Iraq, and elsewhere leaving local dynasts in power as tributary rulers. A new stage in the conquest of Central Asia began with the appointment, in 705, of Qutayba b. Muslim as the governor of Khurasan. Qutayba's ten-year career brought the military conquest of Bukhara and Samarkand as well as of Khwarazm, and the initiation of campaigns into Farghana and as far beyond the Syr Darya as Isfijab; it also saw important institutional developments, as Arab garrisons were established in Bukhara and Samarkand, troops were levied from the local population to serve with the Muslim armies, mosques were built in these

cities, and measures were undertaken to induce conversion to Islam.

These patterns of Arab rule established under Qutayba proved more enduring than his conquests. Following his murder by mutinous troops in the Farghana valley in 715, Arab control in Transoxania was soon rolled back, and nearly a quarter-century passed before the Muslim armies were able to take the initiative again. Local rulers such as the Sogdian king Ghurak regained their independence and successfully fought the Arabs, but a new force from the steppe—the Turgesh confederation—posed a more serious threat to Arab control. The Turgesh were able to raid deep into Transoxania and eventually into Khurasan as well. The death of the Turgesh ruler in 737, however, led to the collapse of his confederation; Ghurak died the same year, and soon afterward a new Umayyad governor of Khurasan, Nasr b. Sayyar, was able, during the 740s, to reconquer central Transoxania, the Farghana valley, and parts of eastern Khurasan that had reverted to local rulers, and to lead successful campaigns as far as Tashkent.

Soon, however, the Abbasid revolution, a movement that took shape militarily in Khurasan, swept the Umayyads from power; Abbasid agitation there began even before the arrival of the famous Abu Muslim in 747, and both the Arab colonists in Khurasan and Transoxania and local converts to Islam played significant roles in the success of the Abbasid cause. Disaffection with Umayyad rule was particularly strong among the local converts, resentful of policies that relegated them to a subordinate status vis-à-vis the Arabs. Nevertheless, the series of religiously tinged revolts that broke out in Transoxania and Khurasan beginning in the late Umayyad era continued through the first decades of Abbasid rule. Abbasid control in Central Asia in fact remained tenuous until the revolt of Rafi' b. Layth beginning in 806. This revolt posed such a serious threat that the caliph himself, Harun al-Rashid, was compelled to set out to deal with it. Following his death in 809, his son al-Ma'mun, installed as governor in Marv, succeeded in suppressing it, and after his elevation as caliph in 813, al-Ma'mun—still based in Marv—conducted a series of decisive campaigns against independent local rulers that may be regarded as the culmination of the Arab conquest of Central Asia.

Almost as soon as it was solidified, Abbasid control in Central Asia devolved upon local governors loyal to the caliph and at least nominally dependent upon him. One of the participants in al-Ma'mun's suppression of the revolt of Rafi' b. Layth was one Tahir b. Husayn, whom the caliph appointed governor of Khurasan in 821. The Tahirid dynasty ruled Khurasan and Transoxania until its destruction in 873 by the Saffarids of Sistan. Members of the Samanid family also took part in al-Ma'mun's campaigns, and served the Tahirids as governors in Samarkand, Farghana, and Tashkent.

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## BİLGİ VE TOPLUM-BT

SAYI - 2 - 1999

**TÜRK DÜNYASI ARASTIRMALARI VAKFI Adına Sahibi**

Prof. Dr. Turan YAZGAN

### Yayın Yönetmeni

Veysel BOZKURT

### Yayın Yönetmen Yard.

Mehmet ZENCİRKIRAN

### Düzenleme

Aşkın KESER

### Danışma Kurulu

Nabi AVCI

Toker DERELİ

Ahmet İNAM

Ali Yaşar SARIBAY

İhsan SEZAL

### Yayın Kurulu

Cem BAĞDATLI

Melek TÜZ

Aytekin YILMAZ

Ercüment ÖZER

### Kapak Tasarımı

Ramazan GELMEZ

## Türk Dış Politikası ve Türk Cumhuriyetlerin Önemi

**Dr. İdris BAL \***

### 1. Giriş

Soğuk savaşın sona ermesi dünyadaki dengelerin değişmesine neden olduğu gibi Türk dış politikası açısından da yeni bir durum ortaya çıkarmış, bir taraftan Türkiye Soğuk savaş dönemindeki anti-komünist kale olmasından dolayı dünyadaki önemli rolünü kaybederken diğer taraftan yeni hareket alanları, işbirliği imkanları da önüne çıkmıştır. Bu makalenin amacı öncelikle Soğuk Savaş sonrası Türk dış politikasının açmazlarının altını çizmek, ikinci olarak, Türk Cumhuriyetlerin bağımsız olmalarının Türkiye tarafından nasıl değerlendirildiğini ve Türkiye'ye ne gibi işbirliği imkanları sağladığını belirtmek ve gelişen ilişkilerin çerçevesini çizmek, üçüncü olarak ise, Türkiye ile Türk Cumhuriyetler arasındaki ilişkilerin geleceği için dikkat edilmesi gereken hususlar üzerinde durmaktadır.

### 2. Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Dönemde Türk Dış Politikasının Açmazları

1980 öncesi Türk dış politika stili farklı kesimlerce farklı yorumlanmaktadır. Bazı akademisyenler ve politikacılar 1980 öncesi Türk dış politika stilini pasif ve reaksiyoncu olarak kabul ediyorlar. Örneğin Kamran İnan Atatürk döneminden sonra Türkiye'nin pasif dış politika stilini benimsediğine ve uluslararası ilişkilerde aktif olmak istemediğini ileri sürmektedir. Yine bu dönemde Türkiye'nin sırtını Türk dünyasına döndüğünü, ilgisiz kaldığını ve bu pasif politikanın Türkiye'nin uluslararası ilişkilerde imajını daha da kötüleştirdiğini iddia etmektedir. (İnan, 1993: 44-45 ve İnan, 1995b: 95). İnan'a göre, bu pasif politikaların istisnası, 1950'lerdeki Demokrat parti yönetimi zamanındaki meşhur Fatih Rüştü Zorlu'nun Dışişleri Bakanı olduğu dönemdir. Diğer taraftan Selim Deringil gibi analizciler aynı dönemi, yani 1980 öncesi dönemi, "maceracı olmayan" bir dönem olarak adlandırmakta, tanımlamaktadırlar. Deringil'e göre, "Türk dış politikası, 1980'lerin ortalarından ve 1990'ların başlarından itibaren dış politikaya

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## Orta Asya ve Batının Dış Politika Aracı Olarak Türk Modeli\*\*

İdris Bal\*

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İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası Sovyet talepleri yüzünden Türkiye Batı güvenlik sistemine dahil oldu. Batı güvenlik sisteminde Türkiye önemli bir rol oynadı. Doğu bloku ile batı blokunun ortak sınırlarının yüzde otuzye-disi Türkiye tarafından korundu ve Amerikan ordusundan sonra ikinci büyük orduya Türkiye sahip oldu.<sup>(1)</sup> Fakat, Türkiye'nin batılı müttefikleri, Türkiye'yi ortak demokratik prensipleri ve gelenekleri paylaşan eşit bir ortak olarak görmek yerine Türkiye'yi Sovyet Askeri yayılmacılığına karşı bir sur olarak değerlendirmişlerdir. Soğuk savaş sonrası durumda ise Türkiye'nin uluslararası saygınlığı daha fazla onun soğuk savaş dönemindeki rolü olan anti-komunist bir kale olma ve NATO'nun güneydoğu kanadının savunucusu olma özelliğine dayandırılmazdı.<sup>(2)</sup> Çünkü bu açıdan Türkiye batı ve Amerikan çıkarları için önemli bir devlet olmaktan çıkmıştı.<sup>(3)</sup> Bu nedenle soğuk savaşın sona ermesiyle beraber Türkiye'nin Batı için jeopolitik önemi tartışılır hale gelmişti. Türkiye tarafı ise Karadeniz Ekonomik İşbirliği Projesini ortaya attı. Türkiye'nin bu girişiminde açık ekonomik sebeplerin çı-

karların yanında istikrarsızlıklara çatışmalara gebe bir bölgede Rusya, Ukrayna, Romanya gibi Karadeniz ülkelerine önderlik edip gelişmeyi ve istikrarı teşvik edecek bir pakt altında toparlayarak Avrupa'yı ve Amerika'yı bu bölgede Türkiye'nin halen önemli olduğu hususunda ikna etmekte.<sup>(4)</sup> Yani kısaca bu proje Türkiye'nin batıyı Türkiye'nin halen batı için bölgede büyük öneme sahip bir devlet olduğu hususunda ikna etmek için kullandığı bir araç olarak değerlendirilebilir. Türkiye'nin Irak'ın Kuveyt'i işgalinden sonra Irak'a karşı Amerika liderliğindeki koalisyon güçlerini desteklemesi de bu bağlamda değerlendirilebilir. Fakat çok daha önemli gelişme Sovyetlerin dağılması ile ortaya çıktı. Sovyetler Birliği'ni oluşturan onbeş cumhuriyet bağımsız oldu. Bu cumhuriyetlerin altısında halkın çoğunluğu müslüman iken, etnik kökenleri gereği beş cumhuriyet: Azerbaycan, Kazakistan, Kırgızistan, Özbekistan ve Türkmenistan Türk veya Türki<sup>(5)</sup> cumhuriyetler olarak değerlendirilmektedirler. Bu cumhuriyetlerin bağımsız olarak ortaya çıktıktan sonra politikacılar, stratejistler ve bilim adamları tarafından bölgede Türkiye için yeni roller olduğu ve yeni imkanların doğduğu vurgulandı. Önceki iddialara zıt olarak, demir perdenin yok olmasıyla beraber Türkiye'nin öneminin arttığı vurgulanmaya başlandı.<sup>(6)</sup> Fuller Türkiye'nin yeni konumunu "Türkiye kesin olarak yeniden oluşan dünyanın jeopolitik merkezindedir" diyerek belirtti.<sup>(7)</sup> Genelde Türkiye'nin önemli bir

(\*) Polis Akademisi Öğretim Görevlisi.

(\*\*) İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi (1989), Nottingham Üniversitesi Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü (1992), Manchester Üniversitesi Orta Doğu Çalışmaları Bölümü (1997 yılında sözlük sınavı yapılması planlandı).

(1) Kamran İnan, *Hayır Diye Hilen Türkiye*, (İstanbul: Tunaş Yayınları, 1995), s. 12.

(2) *Financial Times*, 21 May, 1992.

(3) İnan, *op.cit.*, a. 12, and M. E. Ahrari, "The dynamics of the new great game in Muslim Central Asia", *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 13, No: 4, 1994, s. 531.

(4) *The Middle East*, August, 1992, s. 30.

(5) Batılı akademisyenler ve media tarafından bu cumhuriyetler kesinlikle "Türk Cumhuriyetleri" olarak adlandırılmamakta fakat bazıları "Türkic (Türki)" diye adlandırmaktadır. Türk akademisyenlerin bu cumhuriyetleri "Türk Cumhuriyetleri" olarak adlandırmasını tarafsızlık olarak değerlendirmekte ve bu tür yazıları yazarları pan-Türkist olarak değerlendirmektedirler.

(6) *S. Telegraph*, 9 August 1992.

(7) Charles W. Hostler, *The Turks of Central Asia*, (London: Praeger, 1993), s. 162; Ayrıca bak: Graham E. Fuller ve Ian O. Lesser, *Türkiye's New Geopolitics*, (Oxford: Westview Press, 1993).